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THE
CABINET
History
OF
England
VOL. XV.

THE

CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

VOLUME XV.

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CABINET
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1688—1760.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

ANNE.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1706.—In Spain the French had been much less successful. Peterborough and Galway both proposed marching upon Madrid, the one to advance from the shores of the Mediterranean, the other from the frontiers of Portugal; but early in the spring King Philip put himself at the head of a united Spanish and French army, in the hope of recovering Barcelona. He invested that city by land, while the Count de Toulouse bombarded it by sea; King Charles was cooped up in the town, and implored Peterborough to come to his relief. The eccentric English general flew from Valencia with a small force, which must have failed if the timely appearance of an English fleet, under Vice-Admiral Leake, had not put to flight the Count de Toulouse. Upon the hasty retreat of the French Admiral, who did not stay to exchange a single shot with the English, Philip, who had taken the castle, raised the siege of the town and retreated. At this crisis the French claimant again called to his assistance the Duke of Berwick, who had been dismissed only because the young queen did not like his dark countenance and his dry manners, and who now gathered what forces he could to cover the capital. But

when Philip arrived there from Barcelona, discomfited and dispirited, all idea was given up of defending Madrid, and Berwick and Philip retreated together. Lord Galway, who in the mean time had been moving from the Portuguese frontier, took possession of Madrid, without resistance, on the 24th of June. But Philip and Berwick rallied upon the frontier, and, receiving reinforcements from France, they returned back upon the capital, which Galway abandoned without a blow, marching away upon Aragon, where he hoped to form a junction with Lord Peterborough and King Charles. If that junction had been effected in time Philip must have been again driven from Madrid, and a permanent occupation effected there by the allies. But the French prince was saved by the caution and cowardliness of his Austrian rival, who hesitated to venture so far into the interior of the country, who did not join Galway at Guadalaxara till the 6th of August, and who then seemed determined to remain there till doomsday. Peterborough, who had the disadvantage of a bad, or at least a very fiery and impatient, temper, prayed, remonstrated, stormed, and swore; and finding all was in vain he threw up the cards he was not allowed to play,* and, with some very uncourteous expressions about Charles, he went back to the coast of the Mediterranean, embarked in a new English squadron, and sailed away to relieve the Duke of Savoy (not yet made victorious by Eugene), and to conquer the island of Minorca. Upon his departure Lord Galway, the Portuguese general, and the leaders of the Spanish party in the interest of Austria, quarrelled among themselves, and united together in one general quarrel with the Austrian ministers, and in a unanimous complaint of the tardiness of King Charles. They were without money, without magazines, and almost without any kind of provisions. Berwick was near them with a superior force. Nothing was left to

* In the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, the hasty departure of Peterborough is attributed to his jealousy of Galway, who insisted upon retaining the superior command.

them but to retreat by the only roads which remained open to them; and about the middle of August they struck off, by hasty marches, towards Valencia and the mountains of New Castile. They suffered great hardships;* but by the 29th of September they reached Requena, the last town in New Castile, where they considered themselves safe and went into quarters. King Charles went on to the city of Valencia. Peterborough, in the meanwhile, had been brought back to the Spanish coast, as the squadron in which he had embarked received orders from England to hasten to the West Indies, and as intelligence was received from Turin of Prince Eugene's great victory. His lordship remained a short time to press the siege of Alicant, which was taken by the allies; and then he embarked in a single ship for Genoa to endeavour to borrow money from that republic, and to act as a sort of loan-maker-general for the confederacy. It appears that there were great faults committed besides those which are attributable to King Charles and his generals in the field. There can, indeed, be no doubt whatever that there were a thousand conflicting jealousies and interests, and that the whole of the campaign was miserably managed; but, with our knowledge of what passed in this war of succession, and of the struggles which have repeatedly happened in that country since then, we may very reasonably doubt whether the greatest efforts of which England and her allies were capable, and the most perfect military and political skill united, could have speedily terminated a war in a country where wars ever have been obstinate and protracted, or could have succeeded in the end in imposing upon the Spanish people a king they did not choose, or in dethroning the king to whom the vast majority of the nation had indisputably pledged their honour and affection.

But we return to our own island, where a much more important object for us, and one which had long seemed

* According to Berwick the other army suffered just as much, and were equally ill supplied with provisions. So poor and bare was that great kingdom!

an impossibility, was carried and all but perfected in the course of this eventful year. The English commissioners appointed by the queen to treat about the Union with Scotland had been engaged very laboriously, having for their secretary that great writer Daniel Defoe, who has left us the completest account of that greatest of all our political transactions.* On the 3rd of October, when the aversion between the two kingdoms seemed at its greatest height, the Duke of Queensberry, who had acted throughout with wonderful prudence and circumspection, and who, with Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, had contrived to remove many of the difficulties on the part of the Scots, opened, as Lord Commissioner for Queen Anne, the last parliament that ever sat at Edinburgh. He read the queen's letter, which served instead of her opening speech: it informed the estates of Scotland that the articles of the Treaty of Union had been agreed upon in London by the joint commissioners appointed for that purpose, and it recommended the immediate adoption of that treaty "as the only effectual way to secure their present and future happiness." The queen assured them that Scotland should have its full share of all the advantages to be derived from this union of the two kingdoms; and after reading her letter, Queensberry informed them that the treaty which had been happily agreed on was in the lord register's hands, ready to be laid before them. His grace proceeded to declare that the Scottish commissioners had been diligent and zealous in watching over the interests and honour of their country, and in concerting just and reasonable terms; and that her majesty had most graciously received and approved of the treaty. He then spoke of that most delicate and difficult of all matters – *the kirk*. "The lords commissioners for both kingdoms," said he, "are limiting the matter of church government: for the security of Presbyteria

* 'The History of the Union between England and Scotland; with an Appendix of Original Papers,' by Daniel Defoe.

The chief scene of the labours of the commissioners was the Council Chamber in the Cock Pit, St. James's.

government in this church you have the laws already made for its establishment, the queen's repeated assurances to preserve it, and I am empowered to consent to what may be further necessary after the Union." The Earl of Seafield, the chancellor, said, "We can never expect a more favourable juncture for completing this union than at present, when her majesty has not only recommended it, but declared that she will esteem it the greatest glory of her reign to have it perfected; and when the parliament of England have shown their inclination for it by removing all those obstacles that lay in the way of the treaty; and it must also be acknowledged, that the lords commissioners for England did testify their good disposition all along in this affair: and the great and glorious successes wherewith God has blessed her majesty's arms, give us the hope of a near and advantageous peace, whereby we will be put in possession, and attain to the full enjoyment of all the liberties and privileges of trade now offered by the treaty." The treaty, as it was drawn up and signed, was then read, and after a loose and short debate, it was ordered to be printed, and copies to be delivered to all the members of parliament. Till this was done everything had gone on well; but no sooner were the articles printed and put into the hands of the people, than a tremendous storm arose. The elements of this tempest were many, but the popular arguments which most excited the Scots were these:—that the treaty was dishonourable to Scotland, as it surrendered her separate sovereignty and constitution, and subjected her to her ancient and implacable enemy—that it destroyed the dignity of a kingdom which had defended her liberty against England with such gallantry for so many hundred years—that it would make slaves of her brave sons, who must now be represented at Westminster by a handful of members, who would never be able to carry a question, or make any weight there, but just for form's sake sit in the English House, and be laughed at—that Scotland would not be like an ancient kingdom, but like a province of England. In a frenzy of indignation the people began to cry out that they were

Scotsmen, and would be Scotsmen still—that their commissioners and ministers were traitors—and that there should be "no Union." They insulted to their faces and threatened all the men in office, and all that expressed opinions favourable to the treaty. According to Defoe, who was on the spot, and a most careful observer of all that was passing, the religious feeling was even stronger than the merely national one. To keep it alive, it was artfully represented by those inimical to the Union that the establishment of the kirk would be subjected to the votes of the British or united parliament, where the Scottish members would be few and powerless, and where the English prelates would have a voice against them—that, if these bishops should please to vote Episcopacy into Scotland, they might get a majority, and the thing would be done, the curse would be completed! The most that the kirk could expect would be a precarious and uncertain toleration, for which she must go a-begging to the lawn-sleeved legislators of England. And then there came a universal cry that such a union would be a plain breach of the national covenant and solemn league, by which the nation had bound themselves by oath to Almighty God to endeavour the pulling down the episcopal hierarchy, *and to reform to the utmost of their power, the Church of England also.* "All these things," says Defoe, "were not only brought as arguments, but pushed with so much heat, so much want of charity and courtesy, that really it began to break all good neighbourhood; it soured all societies, and the national quarrel broke into families, who were ever jangling, divided, and opposite one among another." The heat was still further kept up by Mr. Hodges, a polished writer, who had formerly been in the pay of the Scottish parliament, and who now produced a big book against an incorporate union with England, which he described as a faithless, wicke treacherous, and abominable nation, that would entail God's judgment upon Scotland by her national sins. From the 3rd of October to the 1st of November, the ferment continued on the increase, and the whole kingdom seemed resolute to risk a war rather than submit to

the proposed incorporation with England. The whole of the party, or combination of heterogeneous parties, that opposed the treaty, exerted themselves to the utmost in parliament; several of them taking the oaths to Anne for the first time, in order to be able to vote against the Union. But as these gentlemen were visibly in the minority, a cry was raised out of doors that the members of parliament had no right to alter the constitution without the particular and direct consent of their constituents; and that therefore the session ought to be adjourned for some time, in order that the members might go down to the country and know the minds of their respective constituencies. But finding that this was not much regarded by the members, and that precedents were against them, they resorted to public addresses and harangues at market crosses; and they easily produced mobs, tumults, insulting of magistrates, flight of gentlemen from their houses, and all kinds of popular disorders. The enemies of the Union hoped great things—in the way of riot, insurrection, and downright rebellion—from a public fast and day of prayer; but the day came and passed off quietly, for "the Presbyterian preachers generally, as well those who were against the Union as those that were for it, applied themselves only summarily to the substance, namely, that all the determinations of the estates of parliament, with respect to a union with England, might be influenced and directed by Divine wisdom, the glory of God, the good of religion, and particularly of the Church of Scotland."* If the preachers had been less calm and circumspect the Union would have been baptized in blood. Yet, as it was, not a few lives were threatened by the rabble of Edinburgh and Leith; and the Duke of Queensberry was obliged to call out the troops and keep them constantly under arms: and the Union, the pledge and assurance of peace, tranquillity, and prosperity, was carried under cover of arms. The first article, namely, whether there should be a union with England in the sense of the present treaty,

* Defoe.

or not, was carried in the affirmative on the 4th of November, the birth-day of the late King William, and the anniversary of his happy arrival at Torbay. Every article, every clause, was disputed word by word, and every possible objection was started and hotly maintained by the anti-unionists.

The Duke of Hamilton, who had protested against the primary article, against the vote that sufficient security was given to the kirk, and against the resolution to go on with the treaty without adjournments or delays, was, at the very moment engaged actively in a correspondence with the court of St. Germain and the Jacobite agents. Of a sudden, however, the heat of his opposition seemed to cool; and few, or none, at that day knew or suspected the reason of his change. "At that critical juncture," says his grandson, "the Duke of Hamilton received a letter from Lord Middleton, secretary of state to the court of St. Germain, wherein, after acquainting him with recent engagements his master (the Pretender) had just taken with Queen Anne's ministers, in order to procure a peace with the French king, to whom he stood so much indebted, he proceeds with telling him that he beseeched his grace, in the behalf of his master, to forbear giving any further opposition to the Union, as he (the Pretender) had extremely at heart to give to his sister this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes; not doubting but he would one day have it in his power to restore to Scotland its ancient weight and independence." Middleton recommended Hamilton to keep the business "a profound secret," as he must be sensible that a discovery might materially prejudice their interests both in Scotland and in England. According to his somewhat partial descendant, Hamilton was thunderstruck at this unexpected request, wounded to the quick at not having had some previous notice of the secret negotiations, and reduced by anxiety of mind to the brink of the grave, and to a condition in which he was unable to exert himself.* It is said that the commissioners for

* 'Transactions during the Reign of Queen Anne, from the

the treaty were further assisted at this time by the remittance from England of 20,000*l.* which was distributed so judicially among the *patriots*, that the voice of opposition became as soft as that of the turtle-dove. It appears also that most liberal promises were made of places, and honours, and court distinctions, and of remuneration to those who had lost the most in the wild Darien scheme. Whatever were the influences exercised, directly or indirectly—we do not pretend to have indicated or alluded to one-half of them—the Treaty of Union was approved of by a majority of 110; and on the 25th of March in the following year (1707) the last of the parliaments of Scotland rose never to meet again. The chief provisions of the Union thus finally effected were:—1. That the two kingdoms should upon the first day of May next ensuing, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain. 2. That the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, after her most sacred majesty, in default of issue of her body, should be and continue in the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. 3. That the United Kingdom of Great Britain should be represented by one and the same parliament, to be styled the Parliament of Great Britain. 4. That all the subjects of the United Kingdom should, from and after the Union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, to and from any port or place within the United Kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which did or might belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it was otherwise expressly agreed in the articles. 5. That all ships or vessels belonging to the subjects of Scotland, though foreign built, should be deemed and passed as the ships of Great Britain, &c. 6. That all parts of the United Kingdom should have

Union to the Death of that Princess,' by Charles Hamilton, esquire, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1790.

the same commercial allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties on import and export, as were settled in England at the time of the Union.

A.D. 1707.—The English parliament, which had assembled on the 3rd of December, was informed by the Queen on the 28th of January, that the articles of Union had been adopted by Act of Parliament in Scotland, "with some alterations and additions;" and that the treaty as agreed upon by the commissioners of both kingdoms should be laid before them. The mention of money to be paid to Scotland clouded the countenances of many of the English Commons; and when the treaty came under discussion other financial reasons were laid hold of, and joined with religious intolerance, and with old but insane jealousies, to obstruct or defeat the great political measure of that age. The Commons said that they were absolutely against an incorporating Union, because it was like marrying a woman against her consent —that this treaty had been carried in Scotland by corruption and bribery, fraud, and open violence; and that the Scottish parliament, by giving up their separate and independent constitution, had basely betrayed their native country. The zealots of the high church faction pointed out what they called the irreconcileable contradictions in the Union, by which, among other things, the queen was obliged by oath to maintain the Church of England, and bound likewise by oath to maintain and defend the Kirk of Scotland in one and the same United Kingdom. They represented that the Church of England, looked upon its establishment as *jure divino*, and the Scots pretended their kirk was *jure divino* too; that two nations that clashed in so essential a point could scarcely unite; and that, at the least, on such a critical point, involving the religion by law established, the convocation of the English clergy ought to be consulted. The opposition, however, remained a thin minority in either House, and could do nothing but protest. When the Bill ratifying the Union was passed in the Upper House, Nottingham

and seven other peers entered another protest, without assigning any reason; and the Duke of Buckingham and five lords protested because, as they stated, they considered that the excellent constitution of England would be endangered by the alterations made by this Union, some of which were of such a nature as to show their inconvenience and danger so obviously, that they thought it proper and decent to avoid entering further into the particulars. On the 4th of March, when Anne gave the royal assent to the Bill, she expressed her satisfaction in the warmest terms. She said,—"I consider this Union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island, and, at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it, in the course of above a hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and, therefore, I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion." On the 11th of March both Houses waited on her majesty with an address, congratulating her upon the conclusion of "a work that, after so many fruitless endeavours, seemed designed by Providence to add new lustre to the glories of her majesty's reign."

Both Houses of Parliament spoke of securing the old monarchy of Spain to the Austrian king, Charles, as the only condition and ground of a peace with France; and not a word was said of the negotiations which had been carried on with Louis XIV. This session, which lasted from the 3rd of December, 1706, to the 24th of April, 1707, was the last sitting of a separate English parliament, the next being the parliament of Great Britain, and including the Scottish members. But during this session, and before its commencement, the cabinet had been partially remodelled, and rendered still more a Whig cabinet. Somewhat against the inclination of Marlborough himself, who disliked or feared his own son-in-law, and sorely against the inclination of the queen, the Earl of Sunderland, the husband of Lady

Anne Churchill, was admitted into the government as one of the secretaries of state in lieu of Sir Charles Hedges; and this, in spite of the daring intrigues and skilful manœuvres of Mr. Secretary Harley, who was now the only Tory of any note suffered to retain office. After Hedges was dismissed, a few more changes were made. Sir James Montague, brother of Lord Halifax, was appointed solicitor-general; and the three Tory commissioners of the board of trade—among whom was Matthew Prior, the poet—were removed to make room for three Whigs; Sir George Rooke and the two or three Tories that still held seats in the privy council, though they seldom appeared, had their names erased; and now Harley was left absolutely alone, apparently without support and without hope.

Confident in the support of this Whig cabinet, Marlborough went over to Flanders, and, having looked to the army, hastened to pay his respects to the "Protestant succession" in Hanover, whose advent to the throne of Great Britain was made surer than ever by the Union. At this moment the conquering Charles XII. of Sweden was encamped at Alt Ranstadt, only a few marches from the Hanoverian Court. The extraordinary achievements of the Swedish hero, who, with a small army, had defeated the Czar Peter, dethroned Augustus King of Poland, and set up King Stanislaus in his place, had for some time fixed the attention of Europe. He was now laying Saxony, the hereditary dominion of the elective King of Poland he had dethroned, under contribution; and the emperor himself was standing in awe of his arms, and in an utter incapacity of understanding how to treat with so eccentric a sovereign. Louis XIV. saw more clearly the use that might be made of the Swede, and he sent to solicit an alliance with him. This design was penetrated by the allies; and Marlborough now went from Hanover to the camp in Saxony to defeat it. The two heroes met on the 28th of April. On the whole the assurances of Charles were satisfactory; and, what was more, his visitor saw or ascertained, by less direct means, that the Swede was thinking more of

Russia and of his rival Peter than of anything else, and that he had no design upon that part of Europe where the allies were engaged. The Swedish courtiers who followed their king were miserably poor. To secure an influence among them, good round English pensions were offered to Count Piper, Charles's chief favourite, to Hermelion and Cierderholm. Marlborough's diplomacy indeed was this year much more remarkable than his military operations. The Duke of Vendôme, acting on the defensive, marched and countermarched in the Netherlands: through a variety of causes the allies were never able to attack him; and the campaign closed without a single battle. But blood enough was shed in other quarters. By a strange and selfish treaty the emperor had consented to the undisturbed retreat of a considerable French army shut up in the Milanese; and these veteran troops the French king had sent to reinforce his grandson in Spain. On our side little was done to strengthen Charles. The Spanish war, therefore, was neglected. At the same time Charles and his Austrian generals and ministers continued to disagree with the English commanders, and the English to differ and quarrel with the Portuguese. Lord Peterborough, after visiting Italy, and flying over more than half of Europe, with great profit to his own geographical knowledge, but without any great success as a loan-negotiator, had returned to Spain, the scene of his short but most brilliant glory, to serve as a volunteer. But, as he could no longer command, he took a pleasure in thwarting those who did; in uttering witticisms at the expense of the Austrian claimant, and in saying that men were great fools to fight for two such blockheads as Charles and Philip. It had been resolved in the preceding winter that the allies should unite all their forces and march again to Madrid by the way of Aragon; but Charles was deterred by the intelligence of the great reinforcements that had joined or were to join Philip; and he marched away with some detachments into Catalonia, in order to defend that province, which seemed really and steadily attached to his cause, against an attack

which the French threatened from the side of Roussillon. But Galway and Das Minas were tempted, by the easy prey of some of the enemy's magazines, to march to the frontiers of Castile. Then they turned and laid siege to the town of Villena, in Valencia. Before they made a breach they were warned of the approach, by forced marches, of the Duke of Berwick. Galway and Das Minas raised the siege of Villena, and boldly advanced to meet Berwick. They met on the plain of Almanza, on Easter Monday, the 24th of April (N. S.), and one of the hardest-fought battles of this war was the consequence. But in the end victory remained with Berwick: Galway and Das Minas were both wounded, 5000 of their men were killed; and, in the course of that and the following day, nearly all the rest of their little army, to escape starvation, surrendered. The victory of Almanza was, indeed, complete. Without any force to oppose him; and with fresh reinforcements brought up by the Duke of Orleans, Berwick entered Valencia and took a number of towns, while the Duke of Orleans went to lay siege to Saragossa, which city, after a strange exhibition of superstition, surrendered to his Royal Highness without firing a shot. From Valencia Berwick advanced towards the Ebro, suffering greatly, like the enemy he had recently defeated, from want of provisions. It was the 4th of June before Berwick crossed the Ebro at Caspe. Clouds of Spanish partisans and the wrecks of some English and Portuguese regiments had kept flying before him; and some of them now threw themselves into Lerida, a strong fortress before which the great Condé himself had been foiled. Berwick resolved to besiege Lerida, but he was badly supplied with artillery and ammunition. From the middle of June to the middle of August he was unable to undertake anything; and on the 18th of August a cabinet courier from Paris brought him orders to repair in person with all possible speed into Provence, to assist, with his good generalship, the Duke of Burgundy, who was marching to the relief of Toulon, besieged by the Duke of Savoy, who had again carried the war into the *grand monarque's* own country.

Berwick, travelling post, got to Toulouse, and, on approaching Beziers, learned that the siege of Toulon was raised without his assistance.

That project had been concerted between the courts of St. James's and Turin, between Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and when the latter general, with the Duke of Savoy and an army of 30,000 men, crossed the Alps by the Col di Tende, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a combined fleet of English and Dutch, was off the coast of Provence to co-operate. The fleet did its part with great spirit and intelligence; but the Duke of Savoy, who controlled the genius of the great Eugene, was slow and undecided, and the French poured down a strong army which occupied an entrenched camp in advance of Toulon. The assailants were first repulsed, and then assailed in their own camp. A retreat was then resolved upon; but, in retaliation for the ruin, by the French, of his capital city, Turin, the Duke of Savoy gave directions for bombarding Toulon both by sea and land; and he and Prince Eugene viewed from one of the neighbouring heights, "the dreadful blaze, which was some consolation to them under this disappointment." The bombardment from the side of the sea was, indeed, terrible; a great part of the city was ruined by it, the arsenal greatly injured, and the English and Dutch sailors destroyed two batteries, and eight ships of the line which were lying in the harbour.

But, while the army of the Duke of Savoy was encountering disappointment in France, an army of the emperor was conquering a kingdom in Italy. Count Daun, with only 5000 foot and 3000 horse, possessed himself, in the course of a few weeks, of all the Neapolitan dominion, being favoured and materially assisted by the people, who had for many generations been cruelly oppressed by their Spanish viceroys.

By very remarkable exertions the French were enabled to renew the war on the Rhine, and even to cross that river once more. Marshal Villars took Rastadt, penetrated to the Danube, and had some hope of recovering Bavaria. At this moment the command-in-chief of the

Imperialists was conferred on the elector of Hanover, afterwards our George I., a brave and steady soldier, but no great general; a prince with many solid, but with no brilliant, qualities. George, however, was not put to the test in this campaign; for the fiery and daring old Villars, being obliged to detach a considerable part of his army to protect the south of France against the Duke of Savoy, fell back upon Strasburg, and re-crossed the Rhine.

The Duke of Berwick had rapidly returned into Spain; and before the close of the year, the troops directed by him and the Duke of Orleans had reduced Lerida, and Morella. Orleans—afterwards infamous as regent—who had displayed bravery, activity, and great ability, returned to Paris: Berwick remained in Spain, as King Philip could not consider himself safe without him. But, early in the ensuing spring, Berwick received secret orders from the French court to hasten back to France, where his services were highly prized and much wanted.

During the whole of this year Scotland was agitated by intrigues, plots, and conspiracies. The more remote consequences of the Union are blessings which we all, whether Scots or Englishmen, know and feel; but in its immediate effects the measure was far indeed from being productive of that peace and good will, and identification of interests, which the wisest of the statesmen of both kingdoms had looked for. There were faults and jealousies on both sides the Tweed. English members of parliament had insulted the Scots in their debates, and English ministers had been slow in paying the money they had agreed to pay. While the difficult questions of trade were settling, the whole commerce of the Scots was brought to a dead lock. In all directions communications were opened with the Chevalier St. George (the Pretender), whose birthday was publicly celebrated in many parts of the kingdom. The boy-pensioner of France could do nothing without the assistance of Louis XIV.; but that old king, beset on all sides, and sinking, grasped eagerly at the hope of making a grand diversion by exciting a civil war in Great Britain; and he and his

minister, M. de Chamillart, again employed secret agents in Scotland, and eagerly received the reports and memorials of Colonel Hooke, an agent of the Jacobite party, who went and came between Versailles, St. Germain, and various parts of Scotland. This dark correspondence, which has since been brought to light, strongly shows how general was the discontent, and how numerous and desperate the plotters in all the northern part of our island.* At first the conspirators asked for nothing more from France than a ship loaded with gunpowder, and a promise that the Pretender would go and put himself at the head of his friends in Scotland: and they promised and vowed that they would march into England with an army of 30,000 men. Colonel Hooke was especially favoured by the Duke of Hamilton, and by the Earl of Errol, hereditary Lord High Constable. Soon, however, the lords and lairds told Hooke that nothing could be undertaken unless the French king sent over a good body of foreign troops, and a round sum of money. Hooke alluded to the romantic exploits of Dundee; but fortunately for Scotland and for England, there was no Dundee among his auditors. M. de Chamillart continued to hesitate, and nothing at all was done for some months, which were months of agony to the few Scottish lords and gentlemen who had fairly and decidedly committed themselves. The House of Hanover, jealous of everything that threatened its succession, obtained, by some unknown means, a glimpse of these intrigues, which perhaps were still better known to Godolphin, to Harley, and to Queen Anne herself.

* Memorials and Letters presented to the Court of France by Colonel Hooke in 1707. Published at Edinburgh, 1765. —This Colonel Hooke is said to have been a brother of Nathaniel Hooke, the author of the well-known Roman History, and also the person employed by the Duchess of Marlborough in assisting her to draw up the account of her life, for which service she gave him 5000*l.* Before Hooke's expedition one Mr. Scott had been busily employed in examining the state of Scotland, and making reports to the Earl of Middleton, who, it appears, laid them before the Marquis de Torcy.—*Macpherson, Stuart Papers.*

The first parliament of Great Britain met on the 23rd of October (1707). It had been proposed that the English parliament sitting when the Union was completed should be dissolved, so that the Scottish members that were to make up the parliament of Great Britain should be associated with a new House; but the Whig ministers, who had a staunch majority, were of course unwilling to run the chances of a new election, more particularly at a moment when the nation was in an ill humour at our failures this year both by land and sea, and they overruled the proposition. The House of Commons chose the same speaker (Mr. Smith) over again, and all the usual forms in the first beginning of a new parliament were observed. The queen's speech was not so confident as it had been the year before—"the year of wonders;" but still it was far from being desponding. It would be necessary, she said, to augment the supplies. The Commons, in their address, thankfully acknowledged the Divine goodness in making her majesty the glorious instrument of uniting the two kingdoms—adding that they would embrace all opportunities of improving this happy union so as to make this island of Great Britain a terror to her enemies; and they assured her that the ill success of her arms the last campaign should not discourage them from making their utmost efforts for recovering *the whole Spanish monarchy*. But the Lords were in a very different humour. They dwelt upon our failures at sea, which, they said, were owing to the mismanagement of the admiralty, at the head of which the Queen's husband had been so long slumbering. It is said that Lord Somers and Lord Wharton encouraged these heats in order to remove the Prince of Denmark from the admiralty, and to drive Harley and St. John from office; while Rochester and Buckingham voted for the inquiry in order to ruin Marlborough, Godolphin, and their Whig allies or dependents in the Cabinet. The Commons, meanwhile, voted liberal supplies, and adopted various resolutions for removing jealousies, religious and political, between the two kingdoms, and for supporting the Union by endearing it to both the contracting parties.

Among these resolutions was one, apparently suggested by Somers, that there should be but one privy council, or, in other words, that the privy council in Scotland, which had been but too often little better than a Star Chamber, should be put down. As the Scots, or too many of them, were now clinging to curses as well as to blessings, provided only that they were old and Scottish, and had been a part of their separate political status, they complained of this, notwithstanding the notoriety of the fact that they had been tyrannised over, imprisoned, tortured by this privy council, as Jews and Moors and heretics were in Spain by the Inquisition. A Bill, however, was brought in and passed, and that old tyranny, after a noble speech by Somers, was abolished. The Upper House took up the question of the war in Spain, and the shameful failure which had there followed the brilliant achievements of Peterborough. Many of the Tories did not hesitate to say that Peterborough was a greater general than Marlborough; both parties applauded his conduct; but a motion for giving that earl the thanks of the House was resolutely opposed by the Whigs, and by all the present friends of the hero of Blenheim. It was represented by the old Tory, Nottingham, and others, that Spain was now abandoned to the enemy; but their opponents replied that measures were already concerted for sending powerful succours to King Charles. On the 23rd of December, the Lords joined the Commons in an address, wherein it was stated again that the reducing the whole Spanish monarchy to the obedience of the House of Austria was the only proper ground for a peace; and that no peace could be honourable or safe, if Spain, the West Indies, or any part whatsoever of the Spanish monarchy, were suffered to remain under the power of the House of Bourbon.

A.D. 1708.—Though Harley had worked in the dark, and though Bolingbroke had practised a duplicity rarely excelled by any scoundrel of genius, they were by this time suspected and hated or dreaded by their Whig colleagues. With all their art, Harley and St. John would have failed in making any impression upon the

queen, but for a false step of the Duchess of Marlborough. Some few years before this the duchess, who was rich enough to have served her in another way, brought into court a poor cousin—Abigail Hill,*—whose father, Mr. Hill, once a merchant in the city, was nearly related to Mr. Secretary Harley. The Duchess got this Abigail appointed bed-chamber-woman to Anne, then only Princess of Denmark, and her younger sister settled as the Duke of Gloucester's laundress—"which," says the Duchess, "was a good enough provision for her." The two young ladies had two brothers;—the elder of these was put into a snug place in the Custom-House, and the younger, after being clothed and put to school at St. Alban's by his great relative, was made page to the Prince of Denmark, groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of Gloucester, aide-de-camp to Marlborough, and colonel of a regiment. Everything went on smoothly till the summer of 1707, when the duchess, who always treated her with great *hauteur*, learned that her cousin Abigail was privately married to Mr. Masham, and was in the habit of being closeted with the queen without her grace's consent. Convinced that there was "some mystery," the duchess set herself "to enquire as particularly" as she could into it. "And," says her grace, "in less than a week's time I discovered that my cousin was become *an absolute favourite;* that the queen herself had been present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time her majesty had called for a round sum out of the privy purse; that Mrs. Masham came often to the queen when the prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her: and I likewise then discovered, beyond all dispute, *Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman.*"† The duchess says she was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude. No doubt she might have added that she was struck also with dismay. The duchess hastened to communicate these great discoveries to her husband; and the

* 'Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough,' &c. † Ibid.

lord-general left off looking after the French, in order to warn his wife to look well after Mrs. Masham and the dangerous Mr. Harley. "If you are sure," says Marlborough, "that Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the queen, I should think you might, with some caution, tell her of it, which would do good; for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say." These words surprise us in such a man! Marlborough ought to have remembered how very slight the tie of gratitude had been upon himself, and how generally unknown such a homely virtue was at the court. He ought also to have been aware that it was his own wife's speaking of business to the queen that had moulded the government to his wishes, that had done every thing for him, and that if any other lady once got the same influence over Anne, the game of the Marlboroughs was up. The lord-treasurer Godolphin was as much alarmed as the lord-general, and, being upon the spot, he had almost daily consultations with the duchess, who appears to have conceived a momentary hope of brow-beating the weak and timid, though obstinate, queen, and of throwing Mrs. Masham back into the dirt, which she had boasted she had raised her from. At first Anne flinched, and, both in conversation and writing, solemnly denied the charges against Mrs. Masham; and she continued to style herself Mrs. Freeman's (*i. e.*, the duchess's) "poor, unfortunate, but ever faithful, Mrs. Morley." But, by degrees, the queen's new infatuation for Abigail, and the assurances she received in secret from Mr. Harley, who told her that he would take her out of the chains and thraldom of the Marlboroughs, and make her a queen indeed, infused a little more firmness into this singularly weak and essentially vulgar royal mind;—her civilities became mockeries and masks, her expressions of friendship, and devotion, and submission, mere sarcasms or *doubles entendres*. The Tories, who well knew that the high-church feeling of Anne still continued an absolute passion, threw two high-church parsons in her way by means of Harley; and this widened the breach, and set Marlborough and Godolphin

to coerce the queen on the point where even in their greatest favour they had found her difficult to manage.

The queen secretly gave to Sir William Dawes, an aspiring man, who aimed at becoming a head of the Tory party, the vacant see of Chester. Nearly at the same time Dr. Blackhall, who was as much a high Tory as Dawes, obtained the see of Exeter. The Whig divines, who had expected these promotions, and who had, indeed, made sure of them under a Whig cabinet, did not bear their disappointment either with philosophical calmness or Christian moderation; and the whole Whig party were astonished and incensed. The lord-general wrote repeatedly to his wife and to the queen. He also wrote to Godolphin, expressing his alarm at seeing that "Mrs. Morley's (the queen's) prejudice to some people was unalterable—that she would be disposing of preferments to such as would tear to pieces her friends and servants." The clerical nature of the dispute seems to have affected the great general's style, for in this letter he talks unctuously about reconciling himself to God, and withdrawing from court as well as camp as soon as may be. Hopelessly weakened and crippled by the Duchess of Marlborough's loss of her ascendancy over the queen*—

* In 'The Other Side of the Question' the duchess is taunted with over-estimating her weight and importance. "One of the few French noblemen whose curiosity leads them to visit Great Britain thought himself obliged, among the remarkables of the island, to pay a visit to your grace; on which occasion, to be exceedingly polite, he kept up the spirit of the conversation with a florid detail of the wonders performed by the Duke of Marlborough; to which your grace seemed to listen at first with a very sensible pleasure; but apprehending, as he went on, that his eloquence was like to be confined to the duke only, the spirit which had ever possessed you could not help bursting out —— 'All this is true, sir: but you forget that all this, and much more, is owing to *me*.'" Yet, if the proud, and then old, duchess really said this, she said not a word more than what was true: we may be confirmed in our opinion of her arrogance, but we cannot doubt her veracity. It *was* owing to her that the

disparaged in the eyes of the public, who saw that they could no longer appoint in the church the men of their choice,—the Whig members of the cabinet were still further prostrated by divisions and jealousies among themselves. All these embarrassments had tended to hamper and to distract the attention of the duke during the whole of last year's campaign, and they grew rather than decreased after his return to England and the opening of this present session of parliament. It is made most evident by his own letters that Marlborough at one moment thought seriously of abandoning all his Whig colleagues together, and of making common cause with that hated Harley who was rising with his cousin Abigail. He advised his wife to be cautious and circumspect, mild and gentle, and to endeavour to recover the queen's good graces by respectful and submissive behaviour: but the fiery and proud Sarah was by nature incapable of following this advice, and, moreover, she deemed that it would be useless if put in practice. She entertained a most sovereign contempt of her sovereign: after a close

queen was a queen at all (as, but for her agency, Anne, in all probability, would, in the critical moment of the Revolution, have adhered to her father):—it *was* owing to her that Marlborough had been intrusted with the supreme command of the armies, and that the Whig cabinet which enabled him to do such great things had an existence;—it *was* owing to her that the lord-general in the field was better supplied than ever English general had been before, and that the resources and the diplomacy of the country were put almost exclusively into his hands. Besides, in all things except in plans of campaigns and battles, the intellect of the duchess was superior to that of the duke, who never did anything without consulting with her, and who evidently thought she could do everything, except, perhaps, charge at the head of a regiment. Nay, even Godolphin, the most adroit of politicians —the most experienced statesman or man of business of the day—hardly ever took a step without previously deliberating with Sarah. The duchess was, in fact, a wonderful woman. None of the admiration which has been recently lavished upon her great abilities is ungrounded, except her genius as a letter-writer.

and familiar acquaintance, which had lasted forty years, or from the childhood of both of them, she fancied that she knew Anne better than any one else, and that hers was a mind rather to be subdued and terrified by the boldness of a superior intellect, than to be won back by submission and tears. Anne, we believe, was really what the duchess took her for; but there was one little quality which her grace had underrated, and the mighty strength of which she did not discover till it was too late;—this was obstinacy—a dogged, sullen obstinacy—which the queen had inherited from her father (perhaps, also from her mother; for the Hydes, or at least their great maker, Chancellor Clarendon, were not deficient in obstinacy), and which in her, as in him, sometimes took the aspect of firmness and decision. More fortunate than her sire, Anne's obstinacy did certainly at times keep her right, or, at least, out of danger.

While Anne was studying how she might best free herself from the imperious duchess, and from Marlborough and his Whig colleagues, the plotting Harley almost got his neck into a noose. One William Greg, a clerk in his office, was detected in a traitorous correspondence with Chamillart, the French minister: a letter of his writing was intercepted and thrown in his face; he was committed, arraigned, pleaded guilty, and was hanged for high treason. While Whig writers, both at the time and afterwards, assert that Harley, the secretary, was as guilty as his poor clerk, the Tories boldly and broadly maintained that it was Harley himself who detected Greg in his machinations—that it was he that hurried on the trial and conviction—and that the Whigs and his enemies in the cabinet (the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Sunderlands) *practised* upon poor Greg in prison, and promised to bring him off unscathed if he would only accuse his principal, the obnoxious Harley. It seemed to calm and candid minds, that, at the very least, Harley must be indolent and incapable, and that great dangers must spring from having a secretary of state that could give employment and confidence to such clerks. According to Burnet, Greg told the lords ap-

pointed to examine him, that he had but newly begun the business of betraying secrets to the enemy for money—"that all the papers of state lay so carelessly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the the door-keepers, might have read them all"—and that "Harley's custom was to come to the office late on post nights, and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he usually went away and left all to be copied out when he was gone."

Harley attempted to save himself by coalescing with Somers and Cowper, who, notwithstanding their determined Whiggism, were much respected by the queen, and were still acceptable to her; but those two lords were too honourable to betray their colleagues, and much too honest and far-seeing to unite their political fortunes with so dissembling but so incompetent a statesman as Harley. Still, however, that secretary and Mrs. Masham had a firm hold on the queen, who could hardly be induced to give him his *congé*. Both Marlborough and Godolphin told her repeatedly, that it was impossible for them to serve her while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Still the obstinacy of Anne held out. Marlborough and Godolphin then made good their threat, and absented themselves from the privy council. When the council next met in the queen's presence, every member of it was reserved and confused, except Harley, who, with a show of confidence, proposed immediately proceeding to business. But the proud and stiff Duke of Somerset said he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor treasurer was present; and thereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the queen, that Mr. Harley was dismissed, and a fresh assurance of entire friendship and confidence given to Marlborough and Godolphin. Anne, who, with the family obstinacy, had a considerable portion of the duplicity of the Stuarts, seems, for a moment, to have persuaded the Whigs that she bore no animosity, no rancour, when in reality her resentments were condensed into an enduring and most implacable hatred. Under Harley, but greater than he—far greater

both in ability and in boldness—was the famous Mr. St. John, secretary-at-war, who was turned out and succeeded by *Mr. Robert Walpole.* This was the beginning of a fierce jealousy and hatred between these two politicians; and ever afterwards it was sufficient for Walpole to be for a measure for St. John to be against it. Harcourt, the attorney-general, another ally or dependent of Harley, went out also. The successor of Harley himself, as secretary of state, was Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, who was succeeded in that post by Mr. Smith, the speaker. And presently an event occurred which seemed likely to strengthen the Whig cabinet.

For some time past the Jacobites in Scotland had been assured that their king was really coming;* the English cabinet had been receiving warnings of great preparations for invasion making on the French coast; and, in the month of March, Anne announced in a speech to parliament that the Pretender was about to invade her dominions. With almost as little ceremony as attended the most common order of council, the Whigs brought in and carried through a Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, by empowering her majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of conspiring against her person or government. As usual in all seasons of consternation, the Catholics were denounced.† The Duke of Hamilton,

* Macpherson publishes a set of instructions which was sent over by the Pretender, in the month of February, being brought by Charles Fleming, brother to the Earl of Wigton. The friends addressed were to assure the people that their king was coming with all possible diligence to assert his right and to protect his ancient subjects—that he would put them in possession of their liberties, religion, trade, &c.—and that his brother, the most Christian king, would restore to the Scots their ancient privileges in France, and use his best endeavours to have them included in all treaties of peace. These friends were to select a number of the nobility and gentry; to seize all *suspected* persons, with their horses, arms, &c.

† Life and Reign of Queen Anne.

who was strongly and justly suspected, and twenty-one other Scottish lords and gentlemen, were arrested forthwith. Troops were marched off to Scotland, and Sir George Byng was sent with such ships as were ready to watch Dunkirk, the port in which the French expedition had been prepared. It consisted of five French ships of the line, and twenty frigates, commanded by Forbin, the best naval officer of Louis, and having on board 5000 land troops. The Pretender, styled by the English Jacobites James III., and by the Scotch James VIII., embarked in royal state: Byng was driven off the port by bad weather; and the French fleet got to sea. But the storm which had sent Byng back to the English coast soon forced Forbin to put back to Dunkirk; and there he and the Pretender lay for several days. During this time Byng collected many more ships, and stretched along the coast from the mouth of the Thames to the head of the Frith of Forth. At the same time a strong squadron was detached, under the command of Admiral Baker, to convoy to Leith the English troops that were at Ostend—it being perfectly well known that the Pretender intended to make for Edinburgh. Forbin had positive instructions to take the greatest possible care of his ships; and, therefore, when he got to sea again, and had run northward to the coast of Fife, he was deterred from entering into the Frith by the sight of Byng's far superior force. On the night of the 13th of March (O. S.), after having just given the Pretender a glimpse of the hills of old Scotland, the Frenchman tacked about, and stood away under a press of sail. Byng gave chase, but succeeded in capturing only one of his ships, which happened to be the 'Salisbury,' a man-of-war the French had taken from us. On board were found the Lord Griffin, a very imbecile old Jacobite, two sons of Lord Middleton, a French lieutenant-general, with some other French and *Irish* officers, and five companies of French soldiers. The two sons of Middleton, the Pretender's secretary, and the man that knew all the secrets of the court of St. Germain, were, after some time, released by order of the queen—an order which is supposed

to have been owing to their father's possessing the power of proving to the world the long and traitorous correspondence of Marlborough and Godolphin.* Old Griffin was kept close in the Tower, and, as he had been already outlawed for high treason, execution was awarded against him by the Court of Queen's Bench: but her majesty was pleased to reprieve him from time to time, and in the end he died of old age in his not hard nor cruel prison. All this was, indeed, a signal triumph for the Whigs, who are much applauded for not shedding one drop of blood upon the scaffold. There were great and good men among them in advance of the age, yet the bloodless suppression of this revolution must be mainly attributed to other causes than their humanity or the increasing mildness of the national character. Anne, though she had been one of the very first to question the pregnancy of Maria d'Este and the legitimacy of the child born at St. James's, and though she had joined in the recent opprobrium that designated him as "the pretended son of a pretended mother," seems still to have felt not only that James was her brother, but that he might be, after all, her successor; while at the same time—to say nothing of the Tories, whom Mrs. Masham still let up by the back-stairs—her prime directors, Godolphin and Marlborough, were haunted by the genius of the House of Stuart, and were, equally with her, in doubt whether fortune would not bring the exiled prince to the throne. Five years later, and thirty years after that, when we might have expected some advancement in the civilisation and humanity of the country, blood was shed in torrents upon the scaffold after butcheries in the field! And neither the rebellion of 1715 nor that of 1745 was half so dangerous as this would have been if the Pretender had effected a landing. Shortly after his return to France the Pretender went with the French army into Flanders to serve against the English and their allies.

The abstinence from blood had been so perfect that not even one Irish Papist was executed, though plenty

* Hamilton's Transactions.

of them were taken prisoners, and many more known to have been in the expedition. These circumstances, however, did not prevent a new attempt at insurrection in Ireland. Immediately after the failure of the Scottish expedition, Father Ambrose O'Connor, provincial of the Irish Dominicans, was sent over by the court of St. Germain to inform himself exactly of the state of affairs in that kingdom. The French king sent this monk in one of his frigates from Brest to Ireland, where he arrived early in the month of May. The frigate was seen landing him, and the monk was hotly pursued up the country; but he got to a safe hiding place, and the frigate returned unmolested to France. As soon as his alarm abated, Father O'Connor commenced his inquiries. He learned that all the Catholic lords, clergy, and gentlemen, had been seized, and that all their horses and arms had been carried off immediately after the Pretender's unfortunate voyage to Scotland. The monk waited upon those to whom he brought letters from St. Germain, and he found them all exasperated by the harsh treatment of the Protestant government—all loyal to the Stuart and anxious to strike a blow for him—but *all* pennyless and helpless, without horses, without arms, without ammunition, and, as usual, without any concert among themselves. Like the Scots, the first and the last thing they asked for was money—money! Notwithstanding his profession, the monk ventured among the Presbyterian heretics in the north of Ireland; and, according to his own account, he found those descendants of Scottish colonists "generally well affected to the party of the king." Travelling from place to place, Father O'Connor was delighted to see how naked the land was of soldiers, how weak and ill defended and unsuspecting were the garrisons. "There were not," he says, "six thousand regular troops in Ireland—as for Galway and other important places, they might be surprised by a handful of men."* The Catholics assured him that in five counties only they could presently raise 20,000 men—but then, as a *sine quâ non*,

* Memorial to the Court of St. Germain in Hook's Negotiations.

they told him they must have "a considerable sum of money in hand," and a good supply of arms and ammunition from France, together with a certain number of French troops. The monk, however, inadvertently, lets out the important secret, that they were dispirited and timid in the extreme. And these Irish nobles, instead of hazarding a deputation, thought it would be more proper for Father O'Connor to return to France and inform his majesty of everything. These monks were wonderfully adventurous, and must have been exceedingly adroit: O'Connor before going to France came over to London, and—more than this—he even ventured into the Tower, and there held conferences with the Scottish lords who had been arrested at the time of the threatened invasion. After these deliberations in the Tower of London, Father O'Connor got safely back to St. Germain, but nothing came of his secret mission and new plans—probably owing to the circumstances of Louis XIV. being again threatened on his own frontier, and being himself so miserably poor as not to be able to find money to pay his half-starving troops.

In the meanwhile parliament had been prorogued—on the 1st of April—and the Duke of Marlborough had gone to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene, the Grand Pensionary, and the deputies of the States-General. Having concerted together the plan for this year's campaign, Eugene went to Vienna to bring up reinforcements, and Marlborough took the field. On the other side were the Duke of Burgundy (the grandson of Louis), the Duke of Vendome, Marshal Boufflers, and the Duke of Berwick, whom the French cabinet, by something very like a trick, had removed from Spain to serve in Flanders. Eugene did not keep Marlborough waiting long; but when they had joined they had scarcely more than 80,000 men, while the French counted 100,000. Emboldened by their numerical superiority, the French began on the offensive; and, favoured by the Flemings, who disliked the English heretics and hated the Dutch, they took Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and invested Oude-

narde. But here their momentary success ended: they were presently obliged to raise that siege and to retire across the Scheldt. Marlborough and Eugene, with one will, one notion, followed them; and on the 11th of July they fell upon the French army between the Lys and the Scheldt, opposite Oudenarde—while the Dukes of Burgundy, Vendome, and Berwick were quarrelling about what ought to be done—and gave them the bitterest and most complete defeat they had as yet sustained in this long war. Fifteen thousand men, and above a hundred standards and colours, were lost; and the confusion of the French army was such, that the troops were neither sensible whither they fled nor by whom they were commanded.* But for the coming on of night, Vendome, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Berwick, Pretender, and all might have been taken prisoners—for the Pretender was there. Vendome and Berwick managed the retreat with some skill, but they could never again face Marlborough and Eugene, who, after recovering several important fortresses, laid siege to Lille, which was considered as the key to Paris and one-half of France. The town capitulated on the 22nd of October, but the citadel held out till the 10th of December. The garrison, under Marshal Boufflers, was numerous and brave; the works had been recently improved by the great Vauban; and such were the difficulties encountered, that the allies are said to have lost from 12,000 to 15,000 men before they made themselves masters of Lille. But, even at that price, the important place, the loss of which struck a panic in France, seemed cheaply purchased. Ghent surrendered after a few shots. Bruges and other places were abandoned; and the French, with a drooping flag, retired into their own country, having, according to Berwick, committed absurdity upon absurdity in the course of this campaign. The unnationalised Englishman tells us that the Duke of Marlborough (his maternal uncle), during the siege of

* Marlborough Dispatches, edited by General Sir George Murray.

Lille, sent him a private letter, signifying that the present occasion was a very favourable one to set on foot a negotiation for peace; and that, if the proposals were properly made by France to the field deputies of Holland, to Prince Eugene, and to himself, he would do all in his power to get them accepted. As these circumstances rest upon the single authority of Berwick's Memoirs they have been doubted. It appears, however, that there really was some talk of negotiating; but Lord Hardwicke asserts that the overture came from the Duke of Berwick, through whose hands the French court offered the Duke of Marlborough a large sum if he would procure a peace for them.* The Tories exercised great ingenuity in misrepresenting the whole of this brilliant campaign; in trying to show that Marlborough had several times got into situations of extreme peril, and that he had been liberated from them rather by good luck than by his own genius. At the beginning of the campaign they revelled in the successes obtained by the French, and predicted that the English general would lose in one summer what it had cost so many years to gain. Marlborough disconcerted these prophets by his brilliant and decisive victory at Oudenarde; but when he sat down before Lille they recommenced their sinister predictions, and exaggerated the losses inevitable in such a siege. Lille fell, and Ghent after it; but at the latter place they got up a new panic, and the surrender of Ghent was held up as another piece of sheer luck.

In Spain the campaign had been very unsuccessful to the allies, who had been hard pressed in Catalonia, and had lost Tortosa, Denia, and Alicant in Valencia. There were, however, advantages in the Mediterranean to be set off against these losses. At the end of the preceding and very disastrous campaign, Lord Galway and Das Minas had been carried by an English fleet back to Portugal, whose frontiers were not considered safe. Galway was succeeded by General Stanhope, who was equally accomplished in oratory, diplomacy, and war; and who

* Note on Burnet

had the advantage, derived from a long residence in the country in former times as ambassador, of being perfectly well acquainted with the character and habits of the Spanish people: at the same time the emperor sent Count Staremberg, a general of high reputation, to serve in Catalonia; and, between Stanhope and the count, the remainder of that province was saved. But the English general did more than act on the defensive; he joined Admiral Sir John Leake, who had just made the conquest of the island of Sardinia, and with him laid siege to St. Philip, the chief fortress of Port Mahon. In a very few days a breach was made and a redoubt carried by storm; and then, on the 30th of September, St. Philip capitulated, and the glorious harbour of Port Mahon, together with the whole island of Minorca, fell quietly into the hands of the English. Leaving a good garrison behind him, Stanhope returned to Catalonia. Besides contributing to this conquest, and taking by himself the island of Sardinia, Leake, in the course of this pleasant Mediterranean cruise, performed other exploits, which certainly had the effect of increasing the respect due to the arms of his country. Remembering probably the threat of Oliver Cromwell—that he could make the cannon of his ships be heard in the Eternal City and within the walls of the Vatican—he appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, and threatened to bombard the pope's town and port of Civita Vecchia, in revenge for the assistance or countenance which the pontiff had publicly afforded the Pretender on his late expedition to Scotland. But, fortunately for his holiness, he had at last consented to recognise the Archduke Charles as king of Spain; and the intermediation of Austrian diplomatists saved the court of Rome from this humiliation and loss. On a wider and a rougher sea the English seamen had achieved a far more brilliant victory. In the month of May Commodore Wager, with only four English men-of-war, attacked seventeen Spanish galleons as they were creeping along shore from Carthagena to Portobello, in South America. For a long time his men had hoped for such an opportunity of capturing a plate fleet; and now they

fought, according to the Spaniards, more like devils than men. The battle began at sunset, and soon after it was dark the Spanish admiral blew up with a tremendous explosion, and with a cargo and precious metals valued at three millions of pieces of eight. The rear-admiral struck about two in the morning; the vice-admiral escaped in a shattered condition, and some others of the galleons saved themselves by running behind a dangerous shoal off Carthagena. It appears that more property was destroyed than taken; yet Prior says that Commodore Wager's share of the prize-money amounted to 100,000*l.*

In the month of October died Anne's husband, the Prince of Denmark, and nominal head of the British navy, to none of whose exploits he can be said to have contributed even indirectly. Immediately on his demise the Earl of Pembroke, resigning the presidency of the council and the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, was made lord high-admiral. Lord Somers became president of the council, and Lord Wharton lord-lieutenant. Pembroke, finding, as was said, the business of the admiralty too laborious for him, soon consented that it should be put into commission, with the mercenary Russell, Earl of Orford, for first commissioner. But, from the rapidity of these changes, it is believed that there had been all along a bargain of this kind among the Whig leaders. The post of warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle was, however, separated from that of lord high admiral, and conferred upon Lord Dorset.

The administration, therefore, was once more constituted entirely of Whigs; but the appearances of success were deceptive, and the court-ground on which the party stood was completely undermined by intrigues and by the growing antipathies of the queen. In former times, before she took Mrs. Masham to her heart, and cast off the duchess, Anne's vanity had been gratified by seeing herself associated with the victorious Marlborough, and hearing poets celebrating her praise as another Bellona, or describing her like Jove lending his thunderbolts to the god of war; but now all those things grated on

her senses, and she wished every little candle put out that was lit by way of illumination and public rejoicing. The "bedchamber broils," as the answerer to the Duchess of Marlborough calls them, had kept growing louder and louder, and the queen was so provoked as to insult her grace in church, where they had met to return thanks to Almighty God for the great victory at Oudenarde. There is a bathos in the business, of which the greatest master in the art of sinking might have been proud. The duchess wanted the queen to wear her jewels at this thanksgiving, and, as part of her duty, had put the jewels out "in a way which she thought her majesty would like;" but her majesty went to church without any jewels, and her grace immediately suspecting the cause, told the queen that none but Mrs. Masham could have made her refuse to wear them, in so unkind a manner. "I must needs observe," said this imperious, irritated woman in a letter, "that your majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by my Lord Marlborough." Anne told her in return, that, after the *commands* her grace had given her on the thanksgiving-day not to answer her, she should not think of replying to this letter. The duchess wrote again to explain that her majesty had mistaken what she had said to her in church. Anne left this letter unanswered. The duchess assures us that through the whole summer Harley continued in close and familiar communication with the queen. In consequence of these closetings Anne raised difficulties and objections to almost everything proposed to her by ministers; and, according to the duchess, when Harley and his associates had compassed their designs and got into power, they would often boast, "both in their cups and out of them," how they were frequently at court, in secret, and giving their advice, when Godolphin and the Whigs were fast asleep. The lord-treasurer found himself obliged to represent to her majesty that nothing could go well if she continued to discourage and perplex the cabinet; the lord-general wrote to the same effect from the camp; and his wife

once more wrote a long letter "with her usual plainness and zeal." This only incensed the queen without producing any answer. Equally irritated the duchess waited upon her, and desired to know what crime she had committed to produce so great an alteration in her majesty. Anne, in reply, told her grace that she was inveterate against poor Mrs. Masham, and had nothing so much at heart as the ruin of her cousin;—that, as to any misunderstandings between her majesty and her grace, they were only owing to this, that she could not see with the duchess's eyes, and hear with her ears—that it was impossible for her to return to her former kindness; but that she should always behave towards her as the Duke of Marlborough's wife and the groom of the stole.

If we leave these wretched *tracasseries* of three women, upon which, however, the fate of one of the greatest European wars may be said to have depended, we shall hardly get to the contemplation of more honourable or pleasanter matter. The Tories had resolved to terrify Anne again with the House of Hanover; and they sent privately to acquaint her with a discovery they pretended to have made, of "a terrible design" formed by the Whigs to bring over the Electoral Prince George whether her majesty would or no. To preserve the decency and unity of this proceeding, the person they appointed to be their secret messenger to Anne was that very Lord Haversham who, not two years before, had been the mover of the address for inviting and bringing over the Electress Sophia! * Anne, in a fury, wrote to the Duke of Marlborough to tell him, that, if this matter should be brought before parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, she would look upon them as her enemies, nor would she ever make any invitation to the young man (Prince George) or his father, or his grandmother. The project was, of course, denied by the Whigs, but the queen continued to be haunted by apparitions of the "German boor."

The first British parliament, prorogued on the 1st of

* The duchess calls Lord Haversham "the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm."

April of the present year (1708), had been dissolved by proclamation shortly after, and a new one summoned to meet in the autumn. The Houses met on the 16th of November. In the Commons the Whigs elected for speaker Sir Richard Onslow, without opposition, as the Tories declined the contest which would have exposed their weakness. The great subject of the Union was alluded to with just pride, as the greatest of all the great successes of this reign; and Cowper told the Lords and Commons that her majesty was anxious that they should prepare such Bills as should be thought conducive to the confirming and improving this Union, and particularly to make the laws of both parts of Great Britain agree as near as might be, for the common interest of both nations, and more especially those laws which related to criminal cases and proceedings. The Lords sent up an address by the Earl of Dorset in a private manner, Anne having intimated that this would be most agreeable to her feelings in her state of widowhood and mourning. The Commons also sent up their address in a private manner by Mr. Secretary Boyle. They went beyond the Lords in applauding this year's campaign, which, they said, showed that no difficulties were insuperable to her great commander, and that no force of the enemy could stop the progress of her victories. All this was gall and wormwood to the queen; but the mourning she wore for her husband helped to conceal the gloom which now overshadowed her brow whenever the name of Marlborough was mentioned, or whenever his successes were alluded to. While, in the eyes of the world, she appeared overwhelmed with grief for the loss of her consort—shunning the conversation of her nearest friends, and almost the light of day—she was plotting with Harley and Mrs. Masham against her ministers. Although decidedly in a minority in parliament, the Tories made fresh efforts to discredit the Whigs, by taxing them with rapacity and corruption, with an indifference to the Church of England, and a leaning to the Presbyterians and all manner of Nonconformists. They even endeavoured to show that the Whigs had

favoured the enterprise of the Pretender in Scotland. The Tories were out-voted in both Houses; but the effect of their oratory upon the public mind was very considerable, and contributed to the ruin of their political rivals.

A.D. 1709.—As Anne was now a widow, she ordered the prayers to be left out for making her a happy mother of children, that were used in all churches on the anniversary of her accession.* Upon this both Houses presented a humble address to her majesty, praying that she would not indulge her just grief so much as to decline the thoughts of a second marriage, upon which they professed all their hopes of future happiness did consist. Anne, like an inconsolable mourner for her late husband, sent an answer thanking them for their frequent marks of duty and affection. She alluded to the provision already made for the succession in the person of a Protestant prince; and then delicately said, that the subject of their address was of such a nature that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer to it.

A Bill was brought in and carried, altering the law of Treason, and assimilating it in England and Scotland. Though contrary to the letter of the law in Scotland as well as in England, horrible tortures had been practised at the command of the Scottish Privy Council; and from the time of the restoration of Charles II. down to the revolution of 1688, these atrocities appear to have been far more frequent in Scotland than at any former time. The present Treason Bill had the merit of absolutely prohibiting the use of torture. It also empowered the queen to grant commissions of Oyer and Terminer, as in England, for trying treasons. After the Treason Bill for Scotland was carried, to obviate the suspicions of

* Anne was not a sterile queen—she had plenty of children, but they were all born sickly, and with the germs of mortal diseases. Of three daughters and two sons, whose names are recorded, only one (the Duke of Gloucester) lived to be eleven years old. Of fourteen others many were still-born, and the rest died in their infancy.

harsh designs and severities, an Act of Grace was passed, by which all treasons committed before the signing the Act, on the 19th of April, 1709, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the sea—an exception meant to include all those who had embarked the preceding year for Scotland with the Pretender.*

But, notwithstanding the Act of amnesty on the one side, and the equalization of the laws of treason on the other, the Scots continued their plots and intrigues; and men of the greatest ability among them made a woful abuse of their ingenuity in suggesting to the French court a fresh expedition, and in demonstrating that nothing was so likely to end the war in favour of King Louis as an invasion. In a "new scheme in relation to Scotland" which was presented to the Court of Versailles this year, it was shown how his Most Christian Majesty had been able to carry on the war with advantage against the united force of the whole House of Austria, the Dutch, and all the princes of Germany, so long as Charles II. and the late King James had sat peaceably upon the English throne. The astonishing change that had since taken place and all the French king's ill successes were attributed wholly and solely to the Prince of Orange (the late King William), and to England's entering upon the war with such vigour. England had not only contributed immense sums of money—"as much as all the other countries put together,"—but had given a new turn to the war by employing in it her own native and excellent troops. So long as the late Prince of Orange had been obliged to employ the English troops to reduce Ireland, France had maintained her wonted superiority; but had not the scale of victory turned as soon as the Irish wars were finished, and the English troops sent into Flanders? "It is, therefore, evident," says the scheme, "that, of all the expedients that can be proposed to re-establish the

* The Tories said that this amnesty was contrived and procured by Godolphin and Marlborough, who wanted for themselves and for their own personal security "the potent shield of an act of grace pointedly and especially pardoning all correspondence with the court of St. Germain."

affairs of France, the most effectual would be to make a powerful diversion in Great Britain." * The writers of this scheme assured the French court that Highlanders and Lowlanders, that nearly every man and woman in Scotland longed for the return of their legitimate prince; that the Irish were all ready to take up arms, if they could have them, and that nothing was wanting but arms, ammunition, some French troops, and French gold. But as King Louis could not afford the money and the other means required of him, this new scheme fell to the ground like so many old ones.

The parliament this session was not less liberal than heretofore. Six millions and a-half were voted as supplies; 220,000*l.* of which was appropriated to the augmentation of the army in Flanders. It was found necessary to contract with the Bank of England for a loan of 400,000*l.*; and the Bank was compensated by the renewal of its charter for twenty-one years, with permission to double its capital by subscription. People complained of poverty, and timid minds were palsied at the spectacle of the fast increasing national debt; but nevertheless both money and confidence were so plentiful in the city of London, that the subscription-book of the Bank was filled up in one morning. The session closed on the 21st of April.

The queen appointed a third secretary of state, whose province was to be the kingdom of Scotland; and his grace of Queensberry, who had done so much for the Union, received the appointment.

The Duke of Marlborough had not returned to England, as usual, in the autumn. After his great successes at Lille and Ghent, he was seriously occupied by some bold movements of the Elector of Bavaria, who besieged and well nigh took the city of Brussels. But when all the troops had gone into quarters, Marlborough still lingered in the Low Countries, where, indeed, he spent all the winter. As his presence seemed highly necessary in England—as all were aware that he was fully informed of the disgrace of his wife, and of the dangerous

* Hooke's Negotiations.

ascendency of Mrs. Masham, his absence seemed strange and unaccountable. It has since been accounted for by ascribing to him very disreputable motives: it has been said that ever since the victory at Ramillies his conquest in Flanders had yielded him a considerable revenue; and that he stayed to get his money together, and to make the most of his market while it lasted.* It is fair, however, to observe that Marlborough had other strong motives for remaining on the Continent: from the Hague he could keep a better eye upon France, whose condition seemed every day growing more desperate; and, besides, he was aware of overtures and negotiations, *private* as well as public, that were going on between French agents and Dutch deputies—two classes of men whom he disliked and distrusted for many reasons. His confederate, Prince Eugene, was at Vienna; and there is some probability that it had been arranged between them that Marlborough should remain at the Hague to counterwork the manœuvres of the French diplomatists. On all hands the condition of France is represented as most calamitous. The government was in the hands of a set of mean, jealous, and incapable intriguers; the people were in the talons of disease and famine. Many thousands died of hunger; and everywhere the peasantry were reduced to scanty supplies of bad food. Money had made itself invisible. Louis's treasury was empty, his debt great and increasing. M. Bernard, the principal of his bankers, with many more of his brethren, broke, and a vast number of persons, before in flourishing circumstances, who had lodged money in their hands, were reduced to a state of beggary. The system of finance, always defective, had been rendered worse than ever under the pressure of difficulties and the sudden exigencies of the state caused by the defeat and destruction of successive armies. Nearly all the resources of the state were farmed out to those notorious precursors of the greatest of modern revolutions, *les Fermiers Généraux*. It was time to ask what had been the fruits of the *grand monarque's* insatiable ambition? One of his grand chil-

* Hamilton, Transactions.

dren, the Duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fenelon, is said to have put the question to the old king himself, and to have asked why the Spanish succession should be preferred to the welfare of France—why his brother (King Philip) should be preferred to himself, to all his family and countrymen? The proud old man at last became a supplicant for peace; and he began with the Dutch, whom in his early days he had treated with so much contempt. He dispatched M. de Rouillé, president of the council, to pray for a truce in Flanders. At the Hague this agent was met by Buys and Vanderdussen, who remarked, that, as the allies were stronger in Flanders, as were the French stronger in Spain; that, if Louis would consent to a cessation of arms in Spain, they would also agree to a cessation in Flanders, *provided the French king would first of all put some cautionary towns into their hands.* Rouillé could not consent to this demand; the Dutch would not yield; and the afflicted president of the council informed Louis that no truce could be hoped for upon his conditions. When his dispatch was read in the French council it carried despair to every heart. "A scene so sad," says a person principally concerned, "would be difficult to describe, even were it permitted to reveal the secret of what was most touching in it. The king then felt that the condition of a monarch, the absolute master of a great kingdom, is not always the happiest or the most to be desired."* This Frenchman of the old *régime* adds, in courtly guise, that Louis bore his reverses with the firmness of a hero and the submission of a Christian; that he acquiesced in the dispensations of Providence, and that, consenting to new sacrifices, he instructed Rouillé to recommence the conferences at the Hague with larger promises on his part. But it appears from better authority, that the *grand monarque* wept like a whipped school-boy, and yet was unwilling, in his pride, to concede anything.

* Mémoires de M. de Torcy, pour servir à l'Histoire des Négotiations depuis le Traité de Riswick jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht.

An offer, however, was made to purchase back Lille, the last conquest of Marlborough, by yielding up Tournay, or by demolishing the fortifications which Louis had erected at Dunkirk: Sicily Louis was willing to leave to the allies, but he still claimed the kingdom of Naples, which had now been for two years in the undisputed possession of Austria, in lieu of the whole of Spain and the Indies, which his grandson Philip was to resign; he was willing to submit to a congress the interest of his faithful allies, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been ruined by their fidelity to him; and, continuing this species of vicarious sacrifice, Louis engaged to send out of France the Pretender, upon condition that his security and subsistence should be provided for and secured by treaty. But time pressed: it was the end of the month of April before this dispatch was ready, and the opening of the campaign was delayed only by the unusual severity of the season. If there was the slightest delay the war would begin on the French frontier before the negotiations at the Hague could come to anything—nay, if any difficulty occurred, there would scarcely be time for Rouillé to send a courier from Paris. In short, every moment was of value; and at this crisis the Marquis de Torcy, secretary of state and minister for foreign affairs, volunteered to go to the Hague in person, and take the entire negotiation into his own hands. Louis, after some hesitation, consented to send him; and de Torcy, with a courier's passport, not without fear of being seized by the enemy's troops, or denied access by the Dutch ministers, travelled with speed to the Hague with a dispatch signed by the king himself. He was near being discovered and arrested at Brussels; but aided and guided by a Dutch banker, who had connexions with France, he reached the quiet door of the Pensionary Heinsius, at the Hague, on the 6th of May, late in the evening. After the minister of the proudest monarch in Europe had waited some time in an ante-chamber, the pensionary appeared and admitted him to a close conference. A few years before, when Heinsius went to Versailles on a mission from William III., Louvois, the

insolent prime minister there, had threatened to throw him into the Bastille; now the court of France was at his feet. The Dutch statesman, however, was too high-minded to show any triumph. De Torcy attempted to demonstrate that Holland and England, and all the nations in the confederacy, had blindly engaged themselves to bear the weight of a war which must be useless, or useful only to the House of Austria. Heinsius reminded him of the treaty to which the grand alliance owed its existence, and assured him that it would be impossible to consent to the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, or to the cession of the kingdom of Naples or even of the island of Sicily. The Frenchman hereupon said that he had nothing to do but to return to Paris. Heinsius told him that the States-General, without whom he could engage for nothing, would meet in a day or two. To this de Torcy replied that to submit the question to the States would only produce a long-spun negotiation, for which he had no time, his post as secretary of state not permitting him to engage formally in the trade of a negotiator—that the king, his master, had commanded him to address himself directly and solely to him (the pensionary) in order either to finish the work of peace, or to inform himself clearly of the intentions of the States-General. Heinsius then proposed calling in Buys and Vanderdussen, who had been authorised by the States to treat with Rouillé. This de Torcy also declined, repeating the order he had received from his master to address himself only to the pensionary. After some diplomatic *ruses*, the Frenchman consented to confer on the morrow with Buys and Vanderdussen. He found them quite as high in their pretensions as Heinsius. "But," says de Torcy, in writing to Louis, "I believe, after all, that they are really interested only about their own barrier." Notwithstanding his haste, the French minister was detained nearly a month at Hague. Finding he could do nothing separately with Holland, he agreed to meet the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Marlborough, who had made a hasty journey to England, returned accompanied by Lord Townshend,

an experienced negotiator, and who was believed to be well disposed to a peace: the Prince Eugene came accompanied by the imperial minister Zinzendorf. De Torcy, on his side, was assisted by Rouillé, who had begun the negotiation by demanding a truce in Flanders. As soon as Marlborough arrived, de Torcy saw that the negotiation would end in words; but he thought that an immense moral advantage would be obtained if he could make the world believe—and his own suffering countrymen in particular—that the heart of Louis was bleeding for suffering humanity; that the great king was ready to purchase peace at any sacrifice short of the independence and honour of his country. And in France he succeeded in producing this impression, although at the Hague he absolutely refused any security for the accomplishment of the evacuation of Spain, and for the other sacrifices that were offered.* De Torcy said that his king's good inclination, his great age, and the situation of his affairs, were in themselves a sufficient security for all that was promised. During these discourses the eyes of the French minister were frequently flooded with tears. These may have been forced from him by the miseries of his country; but they were certainly not calculated to make the allies cede any of their resolutions. The ambassadors of every court represented there had heard, in the days of his prosperity, little else than insult and bravado from Louis at Versailles; and the inference now to be drawn was, that his fortunes must be low indeed, and his spirit gone, when one of his cabinet ministers could weep before an assembly of Dutchmen, Englishmen, and Austrians. At the end of May the confederates gave de Torcy their ultimatum in forty preliminary articles. Their chief demands were—1. That the French King should acknowledge the succession of King Charles III. to all the rights and dominions of the crown of Spain. 2. That the Duke of Anjou (King Philip), then in possession of the greater

* The security demanded by the allies was, that some cautionary towns should be put into their hands till Philip had delivered up the whole of Spain to Charles.

part of Spain, should, within the term of two months, depart out of that kingdom with his whole family; that the French King, within that time, should cause Sicily to be delivered to King Charles; and that, if the Duke of Anjou should not assent, then the French king should unite with the confederates in reducing him to obedience, "so that all Europe might enjoy a perfect tranquillity." De Torcy, instructed by a special dispatch from Louis, attempted to procure better conditions by bribing the Duke of Marlborough, whose love of money, increasing with his years, was notorious to all Europe.* When de Torcy made these tempting offers, Marlborough blushed, and changed the conversation. It is stated, on the authority of manuscript letters and of a conversation of Rouillé, that Harley had his spies upon the duke; and that the offer of the bribe was discovered and communicated through Mrs. Masham to the queen.† De Torcy, upon the rejection of the millions of livres, intimated to the duke that he was in the secret of his old intrigues with the court of St. Germain: and here he says that Marlborough blushed again, yet still refused to become a mediator for King Louis. The Frenchman then pretended that his master would make a virtue of necessity, and submit to these hard conditions in order to prevent further misery and bloodshed; and he set off for Paris with the preliminaries in his portfolio. He had kept off hostilities till the 1st of June, and he hoped, at least, to gain a few more weeks. When de Torcy reached Paris, Rouillé was recalled from the Hague; Prince Eugene was informed that his Most Christian Majesty could never accept the terms proposed by the allies. The confederates, on their part, declared that, unless he accepted the articles as now proposed by the 15th of June, they would never again offer him such good terms. By the advice of de Torcy, the *grand monarque* condescended to write circular letters to the local authorities throughout all the provinces of France, declaring that he had tried all methods in order to restore peace; that he had spared

* Mémoires de Torcy. † Hamilton, Transactions.

himself no sacrifice; but that he had been opposed and disappointed by the insatiableness of his enemies, by men who delighted in war for the sake of their own private interests. He also declared in his council, that, if he must make war, he would rather make it against his enemies than his own family. That susceptible people were warmed and excited, and, half starving as they were, they applauded the patriotism of their aged king, and exerted themselves to their utmost to support him. His letters and speeches, and the representations of his skilful emissaries, produced an impression in other countries, until it became an article of belief with many, even at London and Vienna, that the allies had exacted far too much, and that they might and ought to grant peace upon milder conditions. The article in the preliminaries most generally criticised was that wherein the confederates would have bound Louis to make war upon his own grandson King Philip. But it was as positively affirmed by others that the French king had procured the conference at the Hague, and proposed the treaty of peace, only with a design to avoid the pressing danger and to gain time—that he never for a single moment seriously intended to give up Spain or to agree to any other important sacrifice. Prince Eugene declared that the only proper place to treat with the French was a field of battle; and by the 21st of June he and Marlborough took the field, crossed the frontiers of France, and drew up in a large plain not far from Lille. Villars occupied a well-entrenched camp in their front, covered on each side by impassable morasses. The confederates, not daring either to attack him there or to march upon Paris and leave him where he was, struck off by night, on the 27th of June, for Tournay, a strong place, but insufficiently garrisoned. Villars vainly attempted to throw into it a reinforcement of 7000 men; the besiegers broke ground before it on the 7th of July; but Tournay did not surrender to Prince Eugene till the 30th, and then it was only the town that capitulated, the citadel not being reduced until the 3rd of September. On the same day, leaving a force under the Earl of Albemarle to level the

works, Marlborough and Eugene marched into Hainault to lay siege to Mons. Villars, having quitted his entrenched camp, manœuvred with the view of guarding the approaches to Mons and cutting off the confederates' van, which was commanded by the Prince of Hesse. Marshal Boufflers joined him at this critical moment, and shared the command with him. On the 9th of September the outposts of the two armies were slightly engaged; but the French fell back to an encampment near the town of Malplaquet, and passed the night in fortifying their front. Marlborough and Eugene were waiting for their rear guard; and for the two following days the hostile forces stood opposite to each other. On the evening of the 11th, when the forces they expected had come up, Marlborough and Eugene, in spite of the objections of the Dutch field-deputies, resolved to give battle on the morrow. And accordingly, on the 12th of September, they fought and won the battle of Malplaquet—a battle more terrible than either Ramillies or Blenheim. After fighting from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, the French retreated upon Maubeuge, Valenciennes, and Condé; leaving the field of battle strewed with 30,000 dead. The forest of Ardennes served to protect the French from pursuit, and to enable them to carry off most of their artillery and standards. A vast number of officers were killed and wounded, but Marlborough escaped unhurt. The conquerors proceeded to Mons; but that place detained them till the 23rd of October, when it was deemed too late a season to undertake anything else. The bloody tragedy of Malplaquet, however, reduced Louis to sue again for peace. But we pass to a new species of war—

"For Sacheverell of Southwark a sermon has preach'd,
For which he must stand by the Commons impeach'd."*

On the 15th of November Anne had opened the session of parliament in person. She declared that the

* Whig and Tory; or, Wit on Both Sides. London, 1712.

common enemy of Europe had been using all his artifices to amuse with false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire for peace, in the hope of creating divisions or jealousies among the allies. The Lords, in their address, fully approved of her majesty's rejecting the proposals of Louis. The Commons soon proceeded to vote an increase of the army, and 6,200,000*l.* as supplies. They also waited upon the Duke of Marlborough, on his return to England, to thank him for his eminent services: but on the side of the court Marlborough saw nothing but clouds.

For some time past the Tory leaders had been at work with the more combustible portion of the high church preachers, and the pulpits of the kingdom had been resounding with new cries of the church in danger. There was one Dr. Henry Sacheverell, an obscure divine of little moral character and still less ability—a fellow that had been a furious Whig, but, getting no promotion, had suddenly turned Tory, heaped abuse upon the party he deserted, and talked his way to the living of St. Saviour's, Southwark. His impudence was measureless; and he had a very loud voice. There was nothing original in his proceedings, for there were several models to follow. One Francis Higgins, for example, a debauched Irish Protestant clergyman, had recently performed before the people, and made loud and lamentable outcries about the dangerous state of the church, the hardness of the times, the wickedness of the ministry, the lord general, and all men in place. But, though Sacheverell followed, he had the fortune to surpass this model. At an assize sermon preached at Derby on the 15th of August, he had made a terrible onslaught upon the government; and on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, he had preached before the lord mayor and corporation of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, upon the words of St. Paul—"Perils from false brethren." In the latter sermon he excelled himself in abuse and scurrility; he held up Godolphin, the lord treasurer, by the name of Volpone, to the detestation of all good Christians; and he inveighed against some of the bishops

as perfidious prelates and false sons of the church, because they approved of toleration and were against persecuting the Dissenters. He asserted in the broadest terms the exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and spoke of the Revolution as an unrighteous change and an unpardonable offence. With foaming lips and with fists thundering, he proclaimed that the Church of England, the Church of Christ, was assaulted by deadly enemies, and only faintly defended by professed friends; that it was necessary—now or never—to put on the whole armour of God, and to stand up in defence. The magistrates and common-councilmen, who, it is said, did not attentively observe his words (probably they were thinking more of the good dinner which always followed the Fifth of November sermon), gave thanks to the preacher as a matter of course; but Sir Peter King, who was one of them, "and the quickest of them all," complained that the sermon contained many things which were false, injurious, impious, and tending to sedition and schism in the church. Another alderman, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, was of the same opinion; and insisted that Sacheverell ought to be called to account. Nevertheless the doctor proceeded to print his inflammatory discourse with a flaming dedication to the lord mayor. The Tories, and all that opposed the ministry, cried the sermon up to the skies, and took so much pains about it that it was calculated above 40,000 copies were printed and distributed throughout the kingdom. The ministers were irritated, and the queen herself pretended to be much displeased. The matter was laid before the council. The solicitor-general and others thought that the best way of dealing with Sacheverell was to burn his sermon and keep him in prison during the session; but the great Marlborough was for more violent proceedings, saying that such preachers might preach them all out of the kingdom: Godolphin also, who had been described in the sermon in a manner that was next to naming him, proposed severe measures; and the whole council agreed that the offender should be prosecuted. But still there

remained a question among them as to the court in which he should be tried. Some were for leaving him to the ordinary judges in courts of law; some for calling him before themselves; but others were of opinion that he ought to be impeached before parliament. Sunderland was for the impeachment; Somers was against it. But Somers was overruled by the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, and their friends; and an impeachment was resolved upon. Some opposition was made in the Lower House, but the motion for impeaching Sacheverell was carried by a great majority. The proceedings, however, were so slow that the high church party, and the intriguing politicians in league with them, had abundance of time to agitate and prepare the people, who, among other things, must certainly have been moved by unpleasant traditions of the starchness and tyranny of the mass of the Dissenters when they had the upper hand. It was given out boldly, and in all places, that the Dissenters, the Puritans, and the Presbyterians were about to recover their old ascendancy; that a design was formed by the Whigs to pull down the church; that the prosecution of Sacheverell was only to try their strength; and that, upon their success in it, they would proceed to their object openly and fearlessly. It was observed that the trumpeters of alarm, the spreaders of these reports, were well supplied with money; and that a zeal for the establishment was kept warm and glowing by copious libations of strong ale. The common clergy generally espoused Sacheverell as their champion, who had stood in the breach, and they reckoned his cause their own. Hence the batteries of the pulpit were all on one side.

A.D. 1710.—Moreover the Duke of Marlborough played into the hands of his enemies by causing fresh delays and interruptions. The Commons had voted the sermons of Sacheverell to be malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting on her majesty and her government, the late glorious Revolution, and the Protestant succession, as early as the 13th of December, and they had impeached him and taken him into the custody

of their serjeant on the 15th; but the articles were not carried up to the Lords till the 13th of January (1710); and then, through Marlborough, who made many pretences to excuse himself from coming to parliament, saying that he was busy in preparing for the war, and that his duty called him over to Holland, the trial was not commenced before the 27th of February. There were also several significant little circumstances, which tended to convince the people of the truth of the assertions of the preachers and trumpeters, that the heart of the queen was wholly with the doctor, and that the honest and noble men in parliament would see the error of their ways and prevent cruel extremities. For example, when Sacheverell was brought before the Commons he was attended by Dr. Lancaster, vice-chancellor of Oxford, and by above a hundred of the most eminent clergymen in town, *among whom were several of her majesty's chaplains.* And though the Commons refused to admit the doctor to bail, and kept him in the custody of their serjeant, the Lords admitted him to bail as soon as the Commons gave him over to the black rod. In the mean time the clergy flocked together, and traversed both town and country, so that many places were full of riot, and little was heard in the land except the old war-cry of the church in danger. The lowest in condition were the loudest in their outcry: in the city of London butchers' boys, chimney-sweepers, scavengers, costermongers, prostitutes, formed the most conspicuous part of the church chorus and of the defenders of the doctor. It seems certain that the veteran Marlborough was more afraid of this kind of war than of stern contests in the field, like those at Blenheim and Malplaquet. *Perhaps*, he had still some faint hope of recovering ground with the queen, by falling in with her well-known prejudices, or, at least, by withdrawing from the contest with the doughty divine. His friends were offended at his lukewarmness, as they could not so well answer for the success of their proceedings in his absence; many of the peers complained that he showed a disregard to his own honour in keeping away from par-

liament. And while his friends were thus uneasy, his enemies availed themselves of the opportunity of his going over to Holland to insinuate, through Mrs. Masham, that he was gone to procure a petition from the army for the immediate removal of the favourite from the queen. It appears that Anne had for some time past entertained a dread that some motion might be made in parliament against Mrs. Masham; and now she sent about in much concern to many persons, imploring them to stand by her, as if some great attack were really going to be made. She invited a number of peers to attend her, and earnestly pressed them one by one to be mindful of their duty to her, and to resist any petition of the army which the Duke of Marlborough might present to the parliament, and any attempt whatsoever to deprive her of the society and services of her present favourite.* Marlborough and his party denied that there had ever been any such project; but Cunningham asserts that some persons of distinction were reported to have proposed in secret conferences, held late at night, something tending to an address for removing Mrs. Masham, which was opposed by Somers, Cowper, and Godolphin, as too harsh, and not agreeable to the laws of the land, but hotly seconded by Sunderland, who was boiling with revenge. The Lords ordered the trial to be at the bar of their House; but, it being moved that Westminster Hall would be a more proper place, they changed their resolution, and Westminster Hall was prepared accordingly, exactly in the form of the House of Lords; and the trial opened on the 27th of February, as appointed, with a wonderful deal of show and ceremony. A box was prepared near the throne for the queen, who attended in a private character. On the one side of the Hall benches were erected for the Commons of Great Britain, and accommodations were provided for noble ladies and gentlewomen. There was a kind of platform raised for the managers of the impeachment, and another for the doctor and his counsel. There were galleries erected at

* Cunningham. Account of Conduct, &c.

the end of the Hall for the people, who flocked thither in such vast numbers as to excite a dread that the whole erection would come toppling down upon the heads of those beneath.*

Sacheverell came to the bar with great boldness and confidence, being attended by Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Atterbury, who stood by his side during nearly the whole time of his trial. The frog in the fable was nothing to the doctor! He was so swollen and inflated, so lifted up with the sense of his recently-acquired importance, that men who knew him well could hardly recognise him in their old acquaintance, the minister of a poor church in the Borough. Besides Smalridge and Atterbury (both learned ecclesiastics), Sacheverell had the assistance of counsel learned in the law, at the head of whom were Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Constantine Phipps.

Several of the managers for the Commons spoke long and eloquently in support of the charges; but the speech of the rising Robert Walpole was much admired by the Whigs: "I hope," said Walpole, "that your lordships' just judgment will convince the world that every seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher (the doctor will pardon me for borrowing one string of epithets from him, and for once using a little of his own language), who has no hope of distinguishing himself in the world but by a matchless indiscretion, may not advance with impunity doctrines destructive of the peace and quiet of her majesty's government and the Protestant succession; or prepare the minds of the people for an alteration, by giving them ill impressions of the present establishment and its administration. . . . This doctrine of unlimited, unconditional passive obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had not designs some time or other of making use of it. What, then, can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, when the *law* is the only ruling measure both of the power of the crown and of the obedience of

* Cunningham.

the people?"* When Sacheverell left the Hall on the first day of his trial to return to his comfortable and well-stocked lodging in the Temple, the countless mob that had stood shouting during the proceedings in Palace Yard, followed him with tremendous huzzas up Whitehall and all along the Strand. His more immediate body-guard was a company of London butchers, who are said to have been hired for the occasion. His chairmen—for the doctor used a chair—walked erect and elate as if they were carrying a queen, or something higher. The streets were thronged; and people of both sexes "better born than bred," saluted him with great ceremony and profound respect from the balconies and windows; while some of them even threw down presents for him. The doctor officiously returned these compliments from his chair, nodding and bowing like a Chinese idol. He expressed a sovereign contempt for his adversaries, and behaved as if he were the doctor of doctors. "This huzzaing," says Defoe, "made the doctor so popular, that the ladies began to talk of falling in love with him; but this was only a prelude to the high church affair: an essay was to be made on the mob, and the huzzaing by the rabble was to be artfully improved.† On the very next day, the 28th of February, the second day of the trial, those who had attended the doctor to Westminster Hall in the morning assembled about dusk in the evening, together with a gang of sweeps, link-boys, and people of similar condition, and forthwith began to plunder and burn the meeting-houses of the Dissenters." The first attack was made upon Mr. Burgess, minister of a dissenting congregation in a court near Lincoln's Inn Fields. They broke into his meeting-house, now called Gate-street Chapel, carried off cushions and Bibles, pulled down the pulpit and the pews, collected the benches, the curtains, the sconces, and everything that was combustible, carried them all into Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there made a bright bonfire, shouting as it burned, "High Church and Sacheve-

* Coxe Papers, Brit. Mus.—State Trials. † Review.

rell! Sacheverell and High Church." A similar destruction, with the same sort of bonfire, took place at the meeting-houses of Mr. Earl, in Long-acre; of Mr. Bradbury, in New-street, Shoe-lane; of Mr. Taylor, in Leather-lane; of Mr. Wright, in Blackfriars; and of Mr. Hamilton, in Clerkenwell. When the mob came to Clerkenwell they destroyed the chapel belonging to St. John's parish—a chapel of the establishment, but which in their ignorance they mistook for a meeting-house, as it had no steeple. In outward and visible matters, they could only distinguish between a steeple and no steeple; and, if the conflicting creeds had been submitted to their examination, it may be doubted whether they would have known the one from the other. By this time the court was in a consternation, and presently information was received from the Directors of the Bank of England that the rioters were moving in that direction. The queen and all about her were seized with a paleness and trembling; but the Earl of Sunderland sent for Captain Horsey, and commanded him to march immediately with a detachment of the guards into the city. Horsey asked whether he was to preach or to fight. Sunderland replied that he must use his judgment and discretion, and forbear to resort to violent means, except in case of absolute necessity. But the skirmishers for the high church had not the least inclination to come to blows; and when George Purchas, one of their ringleaders, who had formerly been a life-guardsman, tried to make a stand with a few of the most resolute of them, crying out "High Church and Doctor Sacheverell," he soon found that he was left to cry alone, and that even his staunchest adherents were running away as fast as their legs would carry them—and, thus circumstanced, the hero was obliged to make a hasty retreat likewise. There was a slight show of opposition near Fleet Ditch; but, after receiving a few sabre cuts, and losing some of their number as prisoners, the rabble rout there fled likewise, leaving the guards in peaceable possession of the streets of the city, where they patrolled all night. If the mob believed that the queen

disapproved of their violence, they continued nevertheless to believe that her heart was with the doctor. On one of the days of the trial, as she was on her way to Westminster Hall, they gathered round her chair shouting "God bless your majesty and the church! we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." And at the same time they made several members of parliament, who were passing in a coach, take off their hats and shout "Sacheverell for ever!" Throughout the whole of this famous trial, which interested and agitated all ranks and conditions of people, and which was continued upwards of three weeks, the Duke of Buckingham declared plainly that he considered it merely as a trial of strength between the two parties. At last a question was separately put to each lord whether Sacheverell was guilty or not guilty; and he was found guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours laid in the indictment by a majority of 68 to 52. Three days after this, on the 23rd of March, the doctor was brought to the bar on his knees, and the lord chancellor pronounced this judgment:—"You, Henry Sacheverell, doctor in divinity, shall be, and you are hereby, enjoined not to preach during the term of three years next ensuing; and your two printed sermons shall be burnt before the Royal Exchange, at one of the clock in the afternoon, by the common hangman, in the presence of the lord mayor and sheriffs of London." This mild sentence was looked upon by the doctor's friends and admirers rather as an acquittal than as a condemnation, and as an indubitable proof of the weakness of his enemies and the growing impotence of the Whig party. On that night, and for several nights following, there were illuminations in London and Westminster, with bonfires in the streets—made, however, of less valuable materials than Dissenters' pulpits and pews;—there was a deluge of ale and beer; and every one that passed by was compelled by the mob to drink to the health of the glorious Sacheverell. A few obstinate heads were broken, but, generally, these champions of the high church party were peaceful and merry in their cups. As for the doctor, he was a greater doctor

than ever; he returned from Westminster Hall in a grand ecclesiastical triumph; his chair was carried on high, and he was huzzaed by the mob like a victorious prize-fighter, or like a candidate for parliament coming successfully out of a contested and hard-drinking election. For several days he employed himself in going from house to house to thank those lords and gentlemen who had voted for him, or befriended him in other ways. Wherever he went he was followed by a prodigious train, much more remarkable for their enthusiasm than for their decency: they were butchers' boys, link-boys, and the like, who made the welkin ring. The university of Oxford gave way to paroxysms of sympathy and gratitude. But it should be mentioned that that *alma mater* underwent a similar castigation at the hands of parliament; for the famous Oxford decree was ordered to be burnt at the same time and place with the doctor's sermons, and the whole university was held up by the Whigs as a nursing-place of slavery. On the other side, to keep his spirit up, presents were showered upon Sacheverell; Lord Weymouth gave 50*l.*, and some more, some less, according to their means and inclinations. And Dr. Sacheverell, presently making a progress through the kingdom, was looked upon "as another Hercules of the church militant." Wherever he went his emissaries were sent before him with his portrait, or engraved effigies, properly "done in brass;" pompous entertainments were made for him, and a mixed multitude of clergymen and sextons, country singers and fiddlers, a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded together to meet and welcome him. When the reader understands that this progress was made after the dissolution of the Whig parliament, which had prosecuted him, and during the turbulence of a new election, he will conceive the motives of the journey and the successes and excesses with which it was attended. The doctor, in fact, represented not merely the high church, but the whole Tory party; and wherever he appeared the Whig candidates and canvassers were put to the rout. In many of the country towns he found open

houses, entertainments, and feasts provided for him as if he had been the foremost man in the land, and the person most entitled to reverence and gratitude. In one respect the fellow had a strong head, and his faculty of bearing an immoderate quantity of wine was of vast service to himself and to his party; for men still considered it essential in a Tory and high churchman to drink a great deal more than other people. But there were some towns that would never join in this carnival; and, after a few weeks, when sobriety began to return, the doctor's picture, instead of being received as ready money, was frequently torn in pieces or converted to the vilest uses, and in many places he was rudely treated and refused admittance. When he was going towards Ely the people there were so provoked, that they threatened to do him a mischief; and in other towns he was saluted with stones as well as curses. Being far from any ambition of the honours of martyrdom, the doctor made the best of his way back to London. There he was very earnest for permission to make an harangue to the Company of the Bank of England; but the directors gave orders to turn him out of their doors. Sacheverell, however, had done his work, and had, more than any other single cause, helped the Tories back to their places. Five years after this, Bolingbroke and some others of that party thought that he would be a useful man to help to bring in the papistical Pretender!

The session of parliament, which had been chiefly occupied by the doctor and his nonsense, was closed on the 5th of April. A few days after the rising of parliament, Anne gave an unequivocal proof of her intentions. The Duke of Shrewsbury, once the staunchest of Whigs, and one of the greatest promoters of the Revolution of 1688, returned with an Italian wife from a long residence at Rome, and joined the Tories in voting in favour of Sacheverell; and the queen now turned out the Marquess of Kent, and gave the office of lord chamberlain to Shrewsbury, in spite of her premier, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin. By the month of June people began to talk publicly of the dismissal of Marlborough's son-in-law, the

Earl of Sunderland, the worst tempered, but probably (after Somers) the honestest man in that cabinet.

Though Marlborough disliked the political principles of his son-in-law, and had even, in the first instance, opposed his admission into the government, he now considered his remaining in it as essential to his own security; and both he and his duchess made the most strenuous exertions to induce the queen to alter her resolution in this respect. But Anne, as we have said, was at least as obstinate as her father had been before her; and she turned out Sunderland, and gave his office of secretary of state to Lord Dartmouth, whose Jacobitism was only exceeded by his love of jests and sarcasms. To soften the blow a retiring pension was offered; but Sunderland, who did not share in his father-in-law's passion for money, indignantly refused it. "If," said he, "I am not fit to serve my country, I am incapable of plundering it." The removal of Sunderland, who was so nearly allied to the Marlboroughs, spread alarm through all the courts of Europe, except that of France, where it was hailed with transports of joy, as a forerunner of the entire downfall of that able general who had so long been heaping defeat and disgrace upon their arms. Anne, however, instructed Secretary Boyle to write to the allied courts, in her name, to assure them that all their fears were groundless, and that she would continue the administration of her affairs in the hands of her present ministers, and continue to intrust her army to the duke. Yet, within a few weeks, the queen commanded Godolphin to break his staff of lord-treasurer, put that office in commission, and appointed Harley chancellor of the exchequer and prime minister. Harley made some attempts on the Whigs, and endeavoured, in particular, to effect a coalition with Chancellor Cowper and Robert Walpole; but his overtures were in all instances rejected. Thereupon Harley, knowing that he could do nothing with a Whig House of Commons, and knowing, also, that Sacheverell had done, and was actually doing, great things for the Tories, boldly proposed an instant dissolution; and the queen, after some misgivings, made up her mind to follow this

advice. Anne proceeded to sweep court and council clean of Whigs. Lord Somers was turned out, and the queen's maternal uncle (the boisterous, hard-drinking Rochester) was made president of the council in his stead; the Duke of Devonshire, lord steward, gave place to the Duke of Buckingham; Secretary Boyle made room for St. John (Bolingbroke); the great seal, held by Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt; Lord Wharton was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond in the government of Ireland; Lord Orford was removed from the Admiralty, and his office was put in commission; the Duke of Somerset had already thrown up his office of master of the horse, and entered into new measures with the Whigs, of whom, in a few days, not a vestige was to be seen anywhere in St. James's, except, indeed, in a few understrappers without name, character, or weight of any kind.

The inevitable consequences of all these sudden changes were, doubt and discouragement on the part of the allies, indecision on the part of Marlborough, and an almost universal discontent in the English army serving abroad. Early in the year, before the Tories began to rise by clinging to the skirts of Sacheverell's black gown, Louis XIV. again made overtures for peace.* From his declining influence at home, Louis had hoped that Marlborough would be indifferent to the success of the war abroad, and even disposed to make a peace while the army was yet left in his hands; but the French negotiators saw, to their surprise, that Marlborough was as anxious about the war as ever.† To avert another campaign they of-

* Mémoires de Torcy.

† De Torcy, however, takes credit to himself for more sagacity. He says that he foresaw that Marlborough would be more eager than ever for the war, since now he could be nothing in England. "We learned about this time that his duchess had been completely disgraced. The Duke of Marlborough himself sent this news to his nephew, the Duke of Berwick. That disgrace was the first effect of internal agitations in England, and the secret intrigues of that court."—*Mémoires.*

fered to acknowledge the Archduke Charles as King of Spain—to withhold all aid from Philip—to give up four cautionary towns—to restore Strasburg and Brisac—to destroy all their fortifications on the Rhine from Basle to Philipsburg—to destroy the port and fortifications of Dunkirk—and to give up to the Dutch Maubeuge, Condé, Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Tournay, and Lille. The allies had insisted that Louis should *compel* Philip to surrender the throne of Spain within two months, and join his arms with theirs to that effect, if judged necessary; and Louis and his diplomatists declared, that to enforce this condition was to outrage the ties of blood and family affection. It was upon this point that the conferences at Gertruydenberg actually, or at least ostensibly, broke up. While they were going on, Philip, who had wonderfully increased his army in Spain, applied to his grandfather for the services of the Duke of Vendôme; and, before they broke off, Louis sent that duke into Spain to take the supreme command of the troops under Philip. It appears to us the height of absurdity to believe that there was ever any sincerity in the offer of withdrawing all French assistance from Philip, or in the declaration of Louis that he really intended that his grandson should evacuate that kingdom. But, again, Philip was by this time strong enough to defend himself if France would only keep closed the passes of the Pyrenees, and remain as a neutral but impenetrable body between him and the allies. The confederates knew this, and therefore it was they had asked for Louis's co-operation; and, in denying that co-operation, the French court gave what was equivalent to a positive refusal of the great *sine quâ non* of the allies, which, right or wrong, was, that Philip should cease to be King of Spain, and that the Archduke Charles should be put in his place.

In the meanwhile Marlborough and Eugene, at the head of 60,000 men, had invested Douay. Marshal Villars, after coming in sight, gave up his intention of attempting to raise the siege, and that important place capitulated in the month of June. The allies then moved upon the frontier town of Arras, but they found that

place so well defended that they did not attempt a siege. Turning to easier prey, they captured Bethune, while Villars kept retreating, in order to avoid a battle and to bar their road into the interior of France. It was observed, both by friends and foes, that Marlborough was no longer the same man: his confidence of success and his cheerfulness seemed to have abandoned him; and several sinister accidents, such as had not been known before in any of his campaigns, embarrassed his movements and augmented his too apparent vexation. A great supply of powder and other stores, under the convoy of 1200 foot and 450 horse, was intercepted and destroyed. This was but the beginning to other misfortunes. At the same time his attention was constantly distracted by the thick-coming reports of changes at home. He gave up the notion, proposed by Godolphin, of attacking Boulogne and opening the road to Paris; and the campaign closed with the capture of two fourth-rate towns on the French frontier.

As if one of these wars could only be brilliant by the eclipse of the other, the campaign in Spain was this year active in the extreme. General Stanhope, the Imperial general Count Staremberg, and King Charles remained on the defensive till some reinforcements arrived from Italy. Then they marched into Aragon, where King Philip was at the head of an army of Spaniards. On the 27th of July, Stanhope, leading the van, brought Philip to action near Almanara, and routed him in half an hour. Philip retired with his foot—his horse was almost annihilated—under the cannon of Lerida; but want of provisions presently forced him to continue his march to Saragoza. On the 19th of August Stanhope and Staremberg overtook him near the town of Saragoza, and defeated him a second time. Saragoza surrendered to the victors; and Philip, flying with a miserable wreck of an army, abandoned the whole of Aragon. On the 21st of September, Stanhope, still leading the van of the army, took quiet possession of Madrid, which seemed to be playing the part of a shuttlecock between the rival sovereigns. On the 28th King Charles made his triumphant

entry, and paid his devotions, as became a Spanish king, to Our Lady of Atocha. A detachment was sent forward to take possession of Toledo, and keep clear the passage of the Tagus, it being expected that a Portuguese army would again advance from that side to co-operate with the allies in the heart of Spain. But the Portuguese came not; and Philip, still supported by the loyalty and affection of the Castilians, was preparing to return in force. Nor were these the only misfortunes that attended the Austrian claimant: his communications were frequently cut off by flying bands of partisans—the peasantry carried on "a war to the knife," and fell upon all stragglers that wore his uniform—and, moreover, advice was received that the French were in motion on the side of Roussillon, as if they intended to invade Catalonia, the only part of the kingdom really attached to the Austrian cause. Provisions also began to grow scarce at Madrid. The whole of the army moved to Toledo: that place was soon as uncomfortable as the capital; and Charles, thinking he could be safe nowhere but in Catalonia, fled back thither with the best part of his cavalry. Stanhope and Staremberg, with half-starving troops, soon followed his footsteps, leaving King Philip to enter Madrid once more. On the 8th of December, Stanhope, when separated from Staremberg, who was moving in a parallel line, was surrounded at Brihuega by a Spanish army under the command of the Duke of Vendôme; and, after making a gallant resistance, and burning nearly all his gunpowder, he was compelled to surrender with his 5000 English on the morrow. On the 10th of December Vendôme fell upon Staremberg at Villa Viciosa, where a battle was fought in which both sides claimed the victory. It appears that Vendôme suffered very severely, and that the Spaniards were completely beaten on their left wing; yet Staremberg was glad to continue his retreat into Catalonia.

But the war of parties at home was now exciting a far deeper interest than our foreign wars. Indeed, independent of other circumstances, the latter had long since lost the charm of novelty; people were tired of long gazettes,

rejoicings, and illuminations, and wanted a new excitement. The new parliament met on the 25th of November. Bromley, member for the University of Oxford, and chief urger of the Bill against occasional conformity, was elected without opposition in lieu of the late speaker, Onslow. The queen, in her opening speech, showed that she was in the hands of new advisers. She no longer condescended to use the word toleration; but, in mentioning her resolution to support and encourage the church, she spoke of *indulgence* to be allowed "to scrupulous consciences." This term of *indulgence* was the more observed because it was the pet word of Dr. Sacheverell. As for the doctor himself, he had been gratified with a new living, and with as ample a licence of speech—out of the pulpit—as even he could desire.

A.D. 1711.—When the Duke of Marlborough arrived from Flanders, during the Christmas holidays, he met with the coldest reception possible. Lord Peterborough, who had fondly hoped to eclipse his fame, and who was held by the Tories to be a far greater general than Marlborough, meanly joined in an outcry against him in the House of Lords, where a vote of censure was carried against the late Whig ministers for the ill successes of the war in Spain. The eccentric lord was rewarded by an embassy to Vienna, and Lord Galway, his rival in Spain, and the man he most hated, was disgraced and censured by Parliament.

For some time the Tories had been complaining that far too many seats in the House of Commons fell to men of no hereditary rank, and of no landed property—that officers in the army, lawyers, merchants, and others living in towns and trading cities were gradually assuming that superiority which naturally ought to belong to the lords of the soil. During this session a Bill was brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments by further qualifying the members to sit in the House of Commons. Hitherto no such qualification had been thought of; but now it was enacted that no man should represent a county unless he had a real estate in land of 600*l.* a year, nor a borough unless he had a real estate

in land worth 300*l.* a year. Scarcely any resistance was made at the time by the Whigs to this qualification act.

Harley, by this time, felt his position a very uneasy one, and it is supposed that he must have fallen through the intrigues of his colleague St. John, but for a lucky attempt which was made upon his life, and which rendered him for a short time popular with the nation. Although it had been so often proved that such money was thrown away, or worse, the different governments of England, whether Whig or Tory, continued to spend large sums on secret services. Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Poles, all found encouragement; and the majority of these adventurers seem to have taken money from both sides, and to have betrayed the secrets (when they really knew any—which was not often) of both parties. Among the foreigners that fattened on this secret-service money was a Frenchman, who called himself the Marquis de Guiscard, and who got 500*l.* a year. It is said that he was indebted to St. John for this liberality, and that he had recommended himself to that accomplished and then dissipated scoundrel of genius by administering to and sharing in his pleasures. Harley, who had no taste for such revelries and excesses, thought 500*l.* a year too large a sum, and reduced the amount. Thereupon the Frenchman hired himself to the cabinet of Versailles, and began to supply the ministers of King Louis with secret intelligence. The correspondence was discovered, and he was arrested and brought before the English council. There he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John; but the secretary assured him that this was a favour not to be granted to a man in his situation. Guiscard then advanced towards the table as if he would say something to Harley, and stabbed that minister in the breast with a penknife. Fortunately for Harley, the penknife, striking against a bone, broke about half an inch from the handle. Guiscard struck again and again, and Harley fell to the ground with blood flowing from his breast. Then St. John, crying out, "The villain has

murdered Mr. Harley," drew his sword; and the rest of the ministers followed his example. As in all cases of this sudden and alarming kind, the scene is differently described even by the eye-witnesses and actors in it. Burnet declares that it was Guiscard's intention to assassinate St. John, who, however, was so placed as to be out of his reach, whereupon he struck at Harley, who was within his reach—"and wounded him as much as could be done with so small a tool." The bishop adds, that the other members of the council drew their swords and stabbed Guiscard in several places; and then, the attendants being called in, dragged out the all but murdered assassin. Whether wounded by the single sword of St. John, or by the swords of all the company, he had wounds that were deep and dangerous, and when he was carried to Newgate, he was considered by those who saw him as a dying man. Some of the members of the council visited him in Newgate, in order to examine him. Burnet says that his confession was kept secret; Lord Dartmouth, that he confessed nothing, as he could not expect a pardon. If Guiscard discovered anything, it was kept as under the seal of confession, and the unhappy man, whose intellect in all probability *was deranged*, died of his wounds in Newgate. "This accident," says Burnet, "was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one who was studying to recommend himself to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the queen's person. Her health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an ague, the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark." Both Houses of Parliament hastened to address her majesty touching the late horrible and villainous attempt made upon the person of Mr. Harley by a French *Papist*; and they desired that she would cause all Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. And accordingly a proclamation went forth, and the English Catholics, who had no more to do with Guiscard than the Mufti had to do with the church of Rome, were harassed and annoyed after the

old fashion. If Harley had died they would have made a sort of saint and martyr of him; as it was, he was revered as one that had run extreme danger for the Protestant cause, and there was no longer any doubting of the patriotism, and orthodoxy, and anti-Jacobitism of one who had had a French knife in him.* When he first appeared in the House of Commons, the Speaker made a very pompous and very absurd discourse on the past dangers of the great minister, who, a few weeks after, was made lord treasurer, and elevated to the House of Lords with the high-sounding titles of Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. The death of Lord Rochester was considered as another signal piece of good fortune for Harley. But at this moment his colleague St. John was undermining his authority, and laying, among other plots, plans to monopolize the favour of Mrs. Masham, who continued to monopolize that of the queen. On the 12th of June Anne prorogued this Tory parliament, which had voted with exemplary readiness upwards of six millions and a half, though they had assured the people that their very first step would be to curtail the supplies, as passed by the improvident Whigs.

In the meanwhile Marlborough had gone to the wars—and this was for the last time. Earnestly summoned by Prince Eugene and most of the leaders of the allies, he went into Flanders and took the command; but he presently found that his authority was diminished and his force weakened—that many of his best regiments were drawn off for the now altogether hopeless war in Spain,

* Yet only a few months before Guiscard's attempt—that is, about the end of 1710—Harley had sent the Abbé Gaultier (of whom more will be heard in the sequel) to the Duke of Berwick with authority to treat about the restoration of that duke's half-brother, the Pretender. By this plan Anne was to continue to hold the crown till her death, and then the Pretender, upon assurances and securities touching the national religion and liberties, was to be brought in upon the shoulders of the people.—*Memoirs of Berwick.—Macpherson.—Lockhart Papers.*

er to be sacrificed in a paltry expedition to Quebec, under Mrs. Masham's brother, Jack Hill. On the other hand, the French had regained new spirits by the proceedings of the Tory cabinet at home, and by the assurances of their emissaries, that it was the main object of Lord Oxford to hurry on a peace—to secure a peace at any price, or at least without any nice attention to the treaties of the grand alliance, or to the great principle of dethroning King Philip. But Marlborough's masterly conduct disappointed alike the hopes of the French abroad and of the Tories at home. Oxford and St. John, Dartmouth and the rest, had been confident that in going to Flanders this year he was going to certain defeat and humiliation: and Marshal Villars, who had established lines which were deemed impregnable, and called Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*, all the way from Bouchain to Canchè, and who had directed movements to be made on the Upper Rhine, which compelled Prince Eugene to quit his friend to watch the French in that quarter, anticipated nothing less than full security for the whole summer, if Marlborough remained inactive, or a victory if he attempted to force those wonderful lines. Yet the result was altogether different: Marlborough, with admirable generalship, distracted the attention of Villars, forced his *impregnable* lines at Arleux without losing a single soldier, and then calmly proceeded to invest Bouchain under the eyes of Villars, who either could do nothing, or relied too much upon the prodigious strength of that frontier town. In twenty days Bouchain was in the possession of Marlborough, and Villars was covered with shame. These brilliant successes, however, only forwarded the secret negotiations between the Tories and the agents of King Louis. The Tories had pledged themselves to the queen to draw the country out of war, and to disentangle her from those alliances which Wlliam III. had made, and which Marlborough and the preceding Whig ministry had maintained and strengthened. The people, too, had had a surfeit of military glory, and were now thirsting for a peace, which, however, they hardly desired with

more eagerness than they had at the beginning desired the war.

Ever since the beginning of the year secret messengers had been going and coming between London and Paris—some employed and received by Lord Oxford, some by St. John, who, though equally determined on a peace, as the only means of keeping down Marlborough and Godolphin, were by no means agreed as to the means of obtaining it. It appears proved beyond the reach of a doubt that St. John wrote repeatedly to the Pretender at this moment, while Oxford, less enthusiastic or far more cautious, contented himself with sending word of mouth messages, unmeaning compliments, and vague hopes.

There was in England a certain Abbé Gaultier, an adept in gallantry and in intrigues, political as well as amorous, even above the degree common to a certain class of French priests before the Revolution, who were little more than priests by name, or little better than profligates, panders, and *chevaliers d'industrie*. Oxford preferred him to others on account of his equivocal character, which would make it easy to deny and disavow his proceedings if they should fail of success and come to be discovered by the Whigs. The abbé, without papers, but fully instructed, repaired secretly to Paris, and easily obtained an audience of de Torcy. De Torcy was charmed at the facility of negotiating without committing himself. "This peace," says he, "was as absolutely necessary to us as it was unexpected by us." They asked from the king no sort of engagement—no, not so much as the shadow of an engagement; Gaultier had orders to be satisfied with a simple letter of compliment, by which it would be understood that the general proposition had been favourably received in France." By order of Louis, de Torcy wrote the note to Lord Jersey, and gave it to Gaultier with *vivâ voce* instructions to assure the ministers of her Britannic majesty, that his master, justly irritated at the conduct of the States-General, would never again treat for a peace through them, but solely with England. The abbé

travelled back to London, and shortly after was back again at Paris to inquire as to the advantages which Louis was disposed to offer to England as the price of her abandoning her allies, and recognising his grandson as king of Spain. Encouraged by the defeat of the Archduke Charles, the surrender of General Stanhope, and the whole course of events in Spain, and not as yet alarmed by Marlborough's forcing Villars's boasted lines and capturing Bouchain, Louis was not disposed to offer very much; and all that he did offer was; that we should keep Gibraltar, and have a free trade with Spain and the Indies. The secret of these negotiations was not long kept—probably Gaultier himself sold them to the Dutch. When neither party could hope to deceive the other any longer, Lord Oxford and St. John explained themselves to the States-General; and then it was represented that both England and Holland would be happy to contribute to the conclusion of a general, a definitive, and a lasting treaty of peace.* At this point the business became heavy, and Oxford slower even than usual. If Marlborough had been well beaten by Villars, the lord treasurer might have taken heart; but as the lord general had gained, without loss of blood or loss of any material kind, advantages equivalent to a great victory, it seemed dangerous to run on too rapidly to make a treaty which could only have been justified by the annihilation of our army abroad and the defeat of our fleets. The people of England wished for peace, but were anxious that that peace should be an honourable one: if they should be irritated by any sudden and disgraceful treaty, their blessings upon the present pacific ministry were pretty sure to be converted into curses. Lord Raby, our ambassador at the Hague, represented that it was advisable and necessary to be open with the States-General, lest they should have reason to accuse us of taking our measures without them; and his lordship further said that all the letters from France agreed, that all the hope the French king had was to sow jealousies

* Mémoires de Torcy.

among the allies. But Mr. Secretary St. John soon prepared his excellency to entertain other sentiments, by opening to him a pleasant vista of advancement in the peerage and future employment.* And in such ways as this did the court overcome the scruples of the few Tories, that had any, about rushing on to a disgraceful peace as the termination of a long and glorious war. Harley, Jersey, and Shrewsbury pressed the queen not only to send the Abbé Gaultier back to France, but to send him in company with one of her own subjects—"a man of wit and fidelity, in whom she might put confidence." As the proper person they proposed Matthew Prior, the poet, who was already well known in France, where he had passed some years as secretary of embassy to the Earls of Portland and Jersey. "Prior," says de Torcy, "was renowned in England for his wit and poetry; but his best quality at the present conjuncture, was a sincere desire for the peace and his attachment to the Lord Treasurer Oxford." Accordingly, in the month of July, Matthew Prior was despatched for France with the abbé. In his Mémoires the French minister says that Prior had good intentions, but very limited powers; that he could only listen to the answers made to the propositions he brought. There was now one argument of which the French diplomatist could hardly make too much: by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph, which happened at Vienna in the month of April of the present year, the claimant, Charles, had been called to the empire and to the hereditary states of the House of Austria. If to these dominions this prince were allowed to join Spain, Naples, and Sicily, the Milanese, and the two Indies, his power must be excessive and dangerous to Europe. Were the allies anxious to see again the collossal might of the Emperor Charles V.? In beginning this war they had declared that their motive was fear of seeing the crowns of France and Spain, the Indies, &c., united on one head; but would that union be less dangerous which

* Prior's Negotiations.

they now seemed aiming at? Charles had put forth no declaration that the Spanish inheritance should be held separate, by a prince of his house, from the Austrian inheritance and the empire; but Louis had bound himself, and was ready to repeat the pledge, that, though a Bourbon prince should reign in Spain, that crown should never be worn by the same person that wore the crown of France.

As Matthew Prior was so limited by his instructions, the French cabinet sent him back to London, accompanied by M. Ménager, a very expert diplomatist, and by the poet's old friend, the Abbé Gaultier. All these measures were concerted with great secrecy; and in some respects there was a double mystery, for neither Prior nor even Gaultier was made acquainted with the instructions with which the French cabinet furnished Ménager. These instructions were full and significant. Ménager was to demand an equivalent for the ruin of Dunkirk; he was to demand the restitution of some of the places which Louis had lost in Flanders, and particularly of Lille and Tournay. He was to offer some other places in exchange for these; but, above all things, he was to be circumspect, and only bid by degrees like a cautious man at an auction. The English poet, the French abbé, and the *homme de bureau* got safely and secretly into England; but at Canterbury they were discovered, and, having no regular passports, were seized by the master of the packet-boats, Mr. Macky—the author of the well known Memoirs. If the Whigs had been in power, there were Acts of Parliament which would have justified stretching the poet's neck at Tyburn; but, under the Tories, who had employed him, he was safe; and, after a short detention, he was liberated by my Lord Treasurer Oxford or by Secretary Bolingbroke.* One fine evening in August Prior was admitted into the queen's apartment; and on the same

* The account given of this odd transaction in the Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq., is very amusing.

evening he waited on Ménager with her majesty's compliments, and her regrets that he had been obliged to come in so secret a manner. The poet also delivered courteous messages from Oxford, Jersey, Shrewsbury, and St. John, who had been appointed to open the conferences with the French agent. Anne, however, demanded, in writing, a categorical answer to all the propositions which she had sent to Paris by Prior. Ménager was greatly embarrassed at this demand; but he drew up a paper full of double meanings and equivocations, and with this the English ministers were so far satisfied as to proceed to the first conference, which was held privately in the house of Lord Jersey on the 26th of August, when Marlborough was bombarding Bouchain. But, notwithstanding every precaution, the conferences were discovered, and a large part of the nation became convinced that the Tory ministry were resolved to conclude a peace upon any terms. By the beginning of November preliminary articles were signed between England and France, and communicated to the ambassadors of the emperor and Holland. The emperor's minister instantly made the articles public through a London newspaper, and was forbidden the court. The Dutch minister was equally dissatisfied with them; but, after some altercation and correspondence, they found themselves forced to consent to a congress, which was to treat for a general peace, and to meet on the 1st of January at Utrecht.

In the meanwhile Marlborough, crowned with fresh, but worse than useless, laurels, had returned to England to be insulted by the mob, to be baited by the ministers, and to witness the throwing in the dirt of most of the fruits of the most brilliant war in which England had been engaged in modern times. If he could derive satisfaction from the miserable failure of the new t general of the Tories—Jack Hill, the brother of M . Masham—there was certainly occasion for indulg g in that feeling. While they were making their pac c overtures to France, in which they bargained for ret - ing every place in America which might be in t r

possession at the time of signing the definitive treaty of peace, Oxford or St. John dispatched that precious brigadier-general to Quebec, to make the conquest of Canada, with 5000 land-troops, and a fleet under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker. Hill, after various unnecessary delays and absurd manœuvres, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the end of the month of August. He began to ascend the mighty river that pours itself into the gulf, but before he could reach Quebec he was overtaken by fog and tempest, and driven among sands and rocks. Some of the transports foundered in the river; others were stranded on its banks with their crews, troops, and stores. The poor soldiers and sailors thus cast away were tomahawked and scalped by the wild Indians, or were subjected to scarcely less horrible treatment at the hands of the French colonists. Yet still, when the storm abated, and the fog dispersed, a brave man might have seen his way clearly, for the English force was still considerable, and the French ill prepared to meet it. But Hill, who was not a brave man, and who had as little military skill as the Abigail that had procured him his appointment, hesitated and quailed, and then called a council of war, in which it was agreed to return home as fast as possible. Hill reached Portsmouth in the month of October; but the fatality which attended the expedition was not yet over; —she had scarcely reached port, when the admiral's ship, a fine seventy-four, blew up with every soul on board. During the recess of parliament the Tory ministry had been engaged in strengthening their interest by the distribution of titles and promotions.

The session did not begin this year till the 7th of December. The queen delivered the opening speech in person. As long as the Duchess of Marlborough had enjoyed her good graces Anne had, to all appearance, delighted in the war; and she had certainly, year after year, witnessed its continuance, and heard of the bloody battles and losses in the deadly breach without any visible emotion. Her weak and timid mind had even rejoiced in the fictions of the poets that made her a Bellona; but now the

Tories were anxious to make her figure as a most tender-hearted sovereign, and as the proper type of the goddess of peace. They had represented that her majesty's heart was set upon putting a stop to that vast effusion of blood; that she had beheld with tenderness and grief the sufferings of her people, forced into the field, not to defend their native country, not to uphold the church and state, but to gratify the covetousness and ambition of her allies abroad, and of her *late* ministers at home—"to the eternal reproach of Christianity." Although these preludes had prepared parliament for what they might expect, they were somewhat startled by the bold and reproachful paragraph with which Anne began her speech. "I am glad," said she, "that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace." Marlborough was in the House when he was thus ungraciously reflected upon. On proposing an address of thanks, ministers found themselves abandoned by Nottingham, who was jealous of Harley, and who had been in treaty with some of the Whigs. Nottingham rose and made a long and striking speech against the address, against the policy now pursued, against such a peace as was now proposed, against the occupancy of the throne of Spain by a Bourbon, and against everything that had been done or was doing by the ministry. This gave rise to a violent debate, in the course of which Marlborough spoke with unusual heat and at a great length. "I can declare," said he, "with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty, who knows me, and now hears me, of this illustrious assembly, and of Almighty God, who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, I must soon appear to give an account of my actions, that I ever was desirous of a safe, hono able, and lasting peace; and far from any design of p longing the war for my own private advantage, as i enemies have most falsely insinuated."

For some time matters remained in this state:—T Tories carried what they chose in the Commons, t

Whigs in the Lords. Several political mistakes were committed by the latter party. Nottingham soon proved himself an unsafe ally: he persuaded the Whigs that, if they would only allow the passing of a certain Bill through the Lords, he could bring over to them, from Oxford and St. John, many of the Tories and high churchmen; and the Whig Lords, in their anxiety for place, foolishly and basely consented. The Bill in question was none other than the old occasional Conformity Bill, which had been rejected three several times by the Upper House; but which now, somewhat, yet not much, shorn of its intolerance and fierceness, was carried through both Houses with little or no opposition. The Whigs, of course, hereby lost the sympathy and support of the Dissenters, without gaining that accession of strength which Nottingham had promised them from his high churchmen.

The complaints and protestation of the Duke of Marlborough, who had hitherto borne his ill treatment with astonishing meekness, inflamed the queen, and his steadily adhering to their opponents in parliament determined Oxford and St. John to complete his disgrace. Ministers matured their plans; and, on the 21st of December, Marlborough was charged in the House of Commons with having appropriated more than half a million of the public money, by taking and keeping 2½ per cent. out of the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England, and 63,000*l.* from Sir Solomon de Medina, and Antonio Alvarez Machado, the contractors for bread to the army.

It was also made to appear that his secretary Cardonel, with his permission, had exacted from the contractors 500 gold ducats every time a new contract was signed. Marlborough pleaded established usage, and showed many precedents to justify these practices. He also maintained that his per-centages and "perquisites" fell far short of the amount now stated, and were fully legalised by the queen's warrants. The truth appears to be, that the whole administration of the army was very defective; that enormous perquisites, as they were called,

House.* Walpole justified his trifling "perquisites," as Marlborough had done his great ones, by quoting usage and the precedents of former secretaries-at-war; but this did not prevent all the Tories, and a few of the Whigs, from saying that expulsion and imprisonment were too slight a punishment—that he deserved to be hanged.

The House of Lords re-assembled on the 14th; and on the 17th of January the queen sent a message to both Houses. After stating that she had not "recovered strength enough, since the return of her gout, to be present in person," Anne told them that her plenipotentiaries were now arrived at Utrecht, and had begun to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies. By means of the new batch the address of the Lords upon this message was harmonious, and the highest satisfaction was expressed at her majesty's declaration, that there had not been the least colour given for "those false and scandalous reports about a separate peace."

In the month of January, a few days after the disgrace of Marlborough, the companion of his glory, Prince Eugene, came over to England, charged by the emperor with the most difficult of commissions. Eugene was to endeavour to replace Marlborough in his sovereign's good graces; to represent the fatal consequences which would attend the defection of England from the Grand Alliance; to urge on her majesty that she was bound, not merely by honour, but also by interest, to continue the war till France should submit to all the conditions laid down in 1706; and to propose a new plan for the

* Mr. Robert Man, Walpole's agent, refusing to deliver a copy of the promissory note for 500*l.*, the House ordered tl he should be taken into custody of the serjeant-at-arms 1 having contemptuously refused to be further examined befc the commissioners of accounts. The borough of Lynn, 1 which Walpole sat, presently re-elected him, and thereup it was resolved by the House that he was incapable serving in that parliament, and that the said election was voi

future conduct of the war, in which the emperor engaged to take upon himself a larger proportion of the burden than had been required from his brother and predecessor, Joseph. The English people received their distinguished guest with enthusiastic acclamations. "That prince's character," says Burnet, "was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen to look on him." For a time both parties treated him with marked respect, and in a manner laid siege to him—the Tories to win him, the Whigs to retain him: but he destroyed the hopes of the former, and incensed the queen by passing the greater part of his time with the disgraced Marlborough; a circumstance which, however honourable to himself, was fatal to the objects of his mission. The Lord Treasurer Oxford, who, as Mr. Harley, had extolled the duke above all warriors, ancient and modern, one day attempted to make court to the prince, whom he was entertaining, by styling him the first general in Europe; but Eugene replied—"If I am, it is to your lordship that I am indebted for it"—alluding to the recent dismission of Marlborough who was no longer a general. When the brave, accomplished, and modest Prince took his leave (in the mouth of March), the queen gave him a fine sword, with some assurances that she would be steady to the interests of the Grand Alliance; but these insignificant things could not conceal from one of the most acute men of that or any other time, that he had completely failed in his mission. Secretary St. John had declared before his coming that the allies were leaning "on the broken reed of a routed faction," and that they could and should obtain nothing through Marlborough and the Whigs. During the prince's stay—on the 14th of February—the Commons resolved that, in the treaty between her majesty and the States-General, for securing the Hanoverian succession to the crown of Great Britain, and for settling a barrier for the States-General against France, there were several articles destructive to the trade and interests of Great Britain, and highly dishonourable to her majesty; and, secondly, that

it appeared the Lord Viscount Townshend, who negotiated and signed, and all those who advised the ratifying, the said treaty, were enemies to the queen and kingdom. This was a proceeding the boldness of which must have been suggested by St. John—for the timid and vacillating Oxford was scarcely capable of it. Although rather too much was given or promised to the Dutch, the double object of the treaty was consecrated in the eyes of a very large portion of the nation: nothing seemed more fitting or desirable than to strengthen by diplomacy and treaty the cause of the Protestant succession, which was sure to be opposed by all the force and all the arts of France; and Holland, in contracting this obligation, had asked that England should guarantee her safety and integrity by procuring a chain of barrier fortresses along her frontiers to secure her from France—that is, the Dutch had only bargained for what the best and wisest of English statesmen had considered essential to the balance of power and to the safety of our own coasts and commerce.* Yet, although the treaty had been solemnly ratified by her, Anne, from

* By this Barrier Treaty, which is less known than the famous treaty that goes by the same name and was signed in 1715, Anne, on the Protestant succession in England being guaranteed by the States-General, engaged to exercise her arms and policy in such a manner as to obtain for the Dutch the right of garrisoning certain fortified places in the Spanish Netherlands, which, moreover, should serve as the barrier to the United Provinces against France. The States-General charged themselves with the support of the said garrisons, and with the proper maintenance of the fortifications; but England engaged to furnish 10,000 men and twenty ships of war, in case the barrier fixed by this treaty should be attacked, and, in case of this aid proving insufficient, she further engaged to declare war against the aggressor. s early as 1701, when the Grand Alliance was formed u r the auspices of King William, the Dutch had proposed t e conditions, and had explained how essential such a ba r was to their existence; but the treaty was not conclude y Lord Townshend until 1709.

a variety of motives, among which we may suspect an intention of weakening the claims and the means of the hated House of Hanover, was grateful to the Tory Commons for branding the Barrier Treaty and for reprobating so roundly the conduct of her displaced ministers. The States-General took the alarm, and remonstrated in forcible but courteous language. The Commons, set on by Oxford and St. John, drew up "a representation of the state of the war." In this very long paper they represented that the Dutch and all the allies had pursued selfish measures, and had failed to contribute their proper quotas to the war, the great weight of which had fallen upon England, &c. Anne forthwith instructed her ambassador at the Hague to intimate these complaints to the States-General, and to tell them that unless they immediately increased their army in Flanders her majesty would decrease hers. The States, on their side, instructed their envoy-extraordinary to represent to the court of Great Britain that they could not admit the *suppositions* on which her majesty's declarations were grounded. The envoy also presented a memorial from the States, in which they insisted that by the letter of the Grand Alliance all the confederates were bound to employ all their strength by sea and land against the common enemy; that as England was more powerful than Holland, so it ought to bear a greater share of the burthen of the war; that Holland had been exhausted by former wars with the French—wars that tended to the general security of Europe against the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV.—while England, no disinterested party in the struggle, as the conquest of Holland would be a great step gained to the conquest or invasion of her own land, had remained at peace; that England was now, and always had been, as much interested in the struggle as Holland, seeing that the French had set up *a competitor for the British throne*, and had threatened the annihilation of her trade in both Indies, in the Mediterranean, and in the Levant; that the States had, in fact, maintained upwards of a hundred thousand men in the Netherlands, while the English troops had fallen below

seventy thousand. Anne replied to the memorial of the States-General by a counter-memorial, which was written by St. John with his usual point and clear style. It was short and insolent, and ended with an epigrammatic sentence, stating that, according to the Dutch, England could never give enough, nor the United Provinces too little. This English memorial was dated on the 8th of May (1712).

More than three months before this, or on the 29th of January, the congress at Utrecht had been opened with a devout exhortation from the Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, whom the Tories had thought proper to employ as their principal diplomatist. In a *project* of peace delivered on the 11th of February, Louis agreed to recognise the title of the Queen of Great Britain, and the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover; to demolish Dunkirk, upon condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede the island of St. Christopher, Hudson's Bay, and all Newfoundland, except the town of Placentia, to England; and to strengthen the present Dutch barrier with the fortified towns of Furnes, Ypres, Menin, and Fort Kenoq. But at the same time Louis demanded for himself, as a proper barrier for France, that Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, and Douay, with their dependencies, should be delivered up; that his frontier on the side of the empire and of Italy should be the same as it was before the war; and he further required that the Spanish Low Countries should be given to the Elector of Bavaria, and that Lille and Tournay should be considered as the proper equivalent for Dunkirk. As for the Spanish succession, Louis only engaged that his grandson Philip should relinquish all pretensions to Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, in favour of the emperor.*

In the mean time Marshal Villars, drawn up behind his formidable lines, which he had strengthened since Marlborough broke through them the preceding campaign, covered Arras and Cambray, disciplined his nu-

* Mémoires de Torcy.—Prior's Negotiations.—Du Clos.—Voltaire.

merous recruits, and gathered reinforcements and materials of war from nearly every part of France. The truce which usually precedes or accompanies negotiations for peace was not bargained for on the present occasion; and the French had never been more active in their warlike preparations than they were now, while the congress was sitting at Utrecht. The English army were discontented and discouraged by the removal of the general who had led them so often to conquest and triumph, and never to defeat; and the Duke of Ormond, to whom Anne and the Tories had given Marlborough's military appointments, was distinguished more as a decided Jacobite than as a good soldier. Moreover, the Dutch having no confidence either in the sincerity of the queen or in the ability of her new general, refused to intrust their troops to Ormond, and appointed Prince Eugene to command them. There were thus two commanders-in-chief, and Eugene despised Ormond as much as he had revered Marlborough in the field. The States-General, however, not knowing but that they might be attacked by Villars, hastened to act on the offensive, and King William's old friend, the Dutch Earl of Albemarle, opened the campaign in the month of April, by burning and destroying some French magazines near Arras. In the month of May Prince Eugene and the Duke of Ormond assembled the allied army near Douay, and upon a review it was found to amount to upwards of 120,000 fighting men. Eugene proposed that with this imposing force they should attack Villars in his lines, or invest Quesnoy, if the lines were found too strong. Ormond gave his consent. On his arrival at the Hague, that nobleman had declared to the States-General that his mistress intended a cordial co-operation with her allies, and especially with the Dutch;* and from his own letters it should appear

* But shortly before Ormond went to the Low Countries, Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the lord treasurer, arrived at Utrecht accompanied by the Abbé Gaultier; and these two secret agents told the English plenipotentiaries that the English government was determined to be at peace, and not to take part in the campaign. They also commu-

that he was duped, and that he really believed he was to fight. But in a few days, when he was preparing to move with Eugene, Ormond received secret and positive orders from Secretary St. John to avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding any battle. The secretary further told him, that he must disguise and conceal the receipt of this order, which had been communicated to the court of France; and that if Marshal Villars should take any private notice of it, Ormond was to answer him accordingly. And shortly after, Ormond received a very polite note from Villars, feliciting himself on their being no longer enemies. Ormond, though a Jacobite, a bad patriot, and a man of intrigue, was not without sentiments of honour, and he felt deeply the embarrassment of his situation. He represented to St. John the extreme difficulty of disguising the true reason of his conduct, having nothing to offer as an excuse for not marching upon the French with Prince Eugene: and, a little later, when he was harassed by the allies, who insisted upon knowing why he was ruining the hopes of the campaign by refusing to move, he again addressed the insidious secretary, stating "the extreme uneasiness of his situation"—that many of the allies "*scrupled not openly to say, they were betrayed.*" On the 7th of June the Whigs took up the subject in the House of Lords, having been incited by letters from Prince Eugene; and Lord Halifax moved an address to the throne, requesting a copy of the secret orders transmitted to Ormond, and beseeching that that commander might be ordered to act in concert with the allies. The lord treasurer declared that the orders asked for were not proper to be divulged; but he assured the House he could be positive in saying the duke would not decline joining the allies *in a siege*. The Duke of Marlborough here rose and said that a siege of necessity implied the eventual risk of a battle, in case an attempt were made by the enemy to raise it.* To this military

nicated the scheme of a treaty, which was kept carefully concealed from the Dutch.

* Voltaire says that, when he was in England, such was

reasoning the very unwarlike lord treasurer said not a word: but he thought it necessary to reply to accusations, now publicly made on all sides, that the queen intended to make a separate peace, and leave her allies in the lurch; and he solemnly declared that nothing of that nature was ever intended; that such a peace would be "so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation." Upon Halifax's motion being put, it was negatived by a majority of 68 to 40. The defeated Whigs thereupon drew up a protest, which was signed by 25 of them, and which declared the order sent to the Duke of Ormond to be derogatory to her majesty's honour, to public faith, and to that justice which was due to the allies. This protest was printed and sent to the Continent, translated into French and other languages. In the House of Commons the Whigs were equally indignant at Ormond's proceedings, and equally unsuccessful. While Mr. Thomas Harley and the Abbé Gaultier intrigued and corresponded with the French ministers and their agents in Holland, Secretary St. John kept up a close correspondence, begun several months before, with the Marquis de Torcy. In St. John's earlier letters he spoke about the absolute necessity of a renunciation by Philip of the French crown. The necessity, indeed, seemed imperative. By succeeding to the empire and the hereditary dominions of Austria, Charles had arrayed against his Spanish claims a host of politicians who had formerly preferred him to Philip; but death had been still busier in the house of Bourbon than in the house of Hapsburg: the Dauphin, Louis XIV.'s son, had gone to the grave the preceding year, the Dauphin's son, the Duke of Burgundy, had followed

the violence of party, that he heard people call Marlborough a coward and Pope a blockhead. In the course of the present debate, Lord Paulet, a member of the Tory cabinet, hinted that Marlborough never exposed himself in battle, while he exposed his officers in order to benefit by their deaths.

in the spring of the present year, and Burgundy again had been followed by his eldest son, a child of six years; so that there now remained nothing but a sickly child, two years old,* between Philip, King of Spain, and the throne of France. Hence the Union of the two crowns —the Hydra of Europe—seemed almost certain, and, if not prevented, a ten years' war had been useless. If it was dangerous to see the Spanish crown re-united with Austria as it had been in the time of Charles V., it was still more dangerous to the independence of Europe to see it joined with France, the neighbour country—the country in itself so square and compact, and so powerful as to have been able, even by itself, to face the whole might of the Emperor Charler V.! This was the reasoning of every statesman in Europe, not a Frenchman. In England, old national prejudices and jealousies were thrown into the same scale, and Anne's ministers were compelled to insist upon the renunciation, though they seem to have cared little about the fact that it was and would be considered of no effect by the French, and that, if the infant nephew of Philip should die—and there was every prospect of that—Philip would step into his place. Louis XIV. was so aged that it was scarcely safe to count upon his life for three months. St. John therefore pressed de Torcy, and the French court finally complied. On the 18th of May de Torcy assured the English secretary that the king, his master, had sent King Philip positive orders either to renounce his right to the kingdom of France or to give up the kingdom of Spain.

On the 5th of June Anne went down to the House of Lords; and in a long speech announced to both Houses the terms upon which an honourable and profitable peace might be made with France. The House of Commons hailed the speech with rapture, and, having voted address of confidence and thanks, they went up in a bo to present it. But in the House of Lords the addre

* This great-grandson of Louis XIV. was afterwa Louis XV. of France.

encountered violent opposition. Lord Wharton proposed a clause directed against a separate peace, and the Duke of Marlborough supported his Lordship, declaring that the late proceedings of ministers had sullied the glories of the queen's reign, and converted her victories and triumphs into shame and disgrace. Lord Raby, now Earl of Strafford, was again sent over to induce the States-General to accept the offers the French were making, and to consent to a cessation of arms. From this moment the Dutch, seeing that nothing could be done in conjunction with the English, and that Anne was ready to sacrifice their interests, began to think and to act for themselves; and commenced, or rather renewed, underhand negotiations with the court of Versailles. Secretary St. John soon discovered these manœuvres, which encouraged him to declare that steps must be hastened, and that the conditions of peace and war were no longer the matter in question, but, *whether her majesty should have the management of the negotiations, or the Dutch.* The situation of the Duke of Ormond was far more embarrassing than ever. His employers had been obliged to declare in parliament that the English army might assist at a siege, and afterwards to send orders to Ormond to co-operate with Prince Eugene, who by the 8th of June had invested Quesnoy. It appears that Ormond at first only sent, and that very reluctantly, sixteen battalions of foreign mercenaries, that were in the joint pay of England and Holland; but he forthwith assumed an attitude as if he would cover the siege with the whole English army, while Eugene prosecuted it with the Dutch and the Imperial troops. Marshal Villars, who had written to Ormond as a friend, and who had received assurances from his court that the English were no longer to be considered as enemies, was mortified and irritated, and, being a plain-speaking man, he expressed to Ormond, in very uncourtly terms, his sense of this perfidy, or the perfidy of his sovereign and her ministers. At the same time Prince Eugene, who wanted more active assistance, and who apprehended that the English troops would soon cease even to cover his siege, complained and

remonstrated with Ormond, who knew not what to say in defence or excuse, except that, with regard to his own conduct, he knew no other difference between what was shameful and what honourable than obedience to the orders of his queen. But Secretary St. John soon relieved Ormond from part of his difficulties, by letting him know that he must demand from Villars the town and port of Dunkirk as the previous condition of a cessation of hostilities or an unqualified truce on the side of the English. Dunkirk, it was said, was only to be held by the queen of England as a pledge that France should perform all that she had promised in the still incomplete negotiations at Utrecht; and Villars and the other French officers were instructed to put the English troops in possession. Then Ormond personally communicated to Prince Eugene and the Dutch field deputies that he could no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy or do anything whatever against the armies of Louis XIV. Eugene was indignant, and his choler was further increased by Ormond's endeavouring to carry off with him not merely the English troops, but also the foreign regiments, who had been in the pay of England. Ormond treated clandestinely with the commanders of these troops, who were for the most part Germans, and who, though they had accepted English pay, had engaged in the war at the instance of the emperor and for the objects laid down in the Grand Alliance. It seemed to these men the height of dishonour to desert the old cause, and they one and all refused to march off with the English troops, or to abandon Prince Eugene, who, by himself, would be too weak to cope with Villars. Even as matters went, Eugene, as we shall see, suffered severely; but if these troops had left him, it is difficult to calculate what would have been the extent of his reverses. Secretary St. John, writing to Ormond, stormed like a madman at the obstinate Germans. But nearly all the little princes of Germany, who had furnished auxiliaries, approved of the conduct of their soldiers, calling God and man to witness that they had not hired out their troops for the sake of the pay only, but also out of regard

to the common safety of Europe and in observance of the duty they owed to the German Empire. Hereupon Ormond declared that these poor Germans should never get the arrears of pay due to them; and he proclaimed in his camp a truce for two months, according to her majesty's commands, as signified to him by Secretary St. John, who was by this time raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke. But Ormond was pledged to make the auxiliaries in British pay observe this truce as well as the native troops of Great Britain; and, as these Germans would not obey him, Villars objected to the giving up of Dunkirk; and an English detachment, which had been sent thither, found the gates of Dunkirk shut in their faces. Hereupon, the British troops cursed the Duke of Ormond "as a stupid tool, and a general of straw." The officers, it is said, and all the veterans, were overwhelmed with shame and vexation; whenever they recollected Marlborough and the late glorious times, tears gushed to their eyes. But the allied army being now divided into two parts, and the pontons, baggage-waggons, and military stores shared between them, Ormond, seeing no prospect of drawing off the auxiliaries, packed up his baggage and decamped on the 17th of July. "This," says Cunningham, "was the inauspicious day which caused so much sorrow and disgust to the allies, and branded the British name with infamy and disgrace." Louis had sent orders that, notwithstanding the conduct of the German auxiliaries, Dunkirk should be given up, and Sir John Leake had already arrived off that port with an English fleet. As Ormond advanced in that direction he was refused admittance into Douay and other towns occupied by Dutch garrisons, and Villars thought fit to give him notice that, in case he should find himself under any difficulties, he would be *welcome to a retreat in France*. Ormond halted at Ghent loaded with vexation and disgrace; while Admiral Leake landed a detachment commanded by that great soldier, Brigadier Hill, and took formal possession of Dunkirk and all its forts, the French garrison march-

ing out to a man. Ormond lay some time at Ghent; but he detached six battalions to reinforce Brigadier Hill in Dunkirk. He soon followed himself with the main body of the English army, which (at the end of October) embarked and returned to England. Ormond was received in a kind of triumph by the Tory ministers, who pretended to consider that he had acted more gloriously in shuffling out of the war than Marlborough had ever done in conducting it. Quesnoy had fallen before he declared himself, and from that capture Eugene, with the Imperialists, the Dutch, and the German auxiliaries, marched to lay siege to Landrecy. The Bishop of Bristol and Lord Strafford strenuously recommended to the allies the example of the queen of England, and a general truce; but Eugene thought he might yet cope with Villars, and the Dutch joined him in rejecting this advice and in reprobating the withdrawing the forces of England. For a time fortune seemed to smile on the brave prince, who made incursions by detachments far into the interior of France, and threw the gloomy court of Versailles into fresh agonies of alarm. But Eugene was not strong enough to cover properly his far-extending lines, and the want of the steady veteran British infantry was soon grievously felt.

On the 24th of July Marshal Villars crossed the Scheldt, and with a far superior force fell upon Albermarle, who was posted with a division of the allied army at Denain. Eugene, who was attending to the siege of Landrecy, and who was as rapid as Villars, came in sight, but he was detained by the breaking down of a bridge, and Albermarle was defeated and taken prisoner almost under his eye. The French then pushed along the scarp to Marchiennes, where the people favoured the French, and furnished them with intelligence. Indeed, in all this part of the country, the stoppage of the secret-service money, which Marlborough had been accustomed to distribute, had a prodigious effect upon the political disposition of the inhabitants. Marchiennes was taken and plundered by Villars with surprising facility, considering that the place was garrisoned by

4000 men. Eugene now raised the siege of Landrecy; but, even with his army disengaged, he could not prevent Villars from investing Douay. The garrison there scarcely behaved better than the troops in Marchiennes had done; and they surrendered after a short siege. Quesnoy, which Eugene had so recently taken, made a better resistance, but it too fell before Villars. The States-General checked Eugene, who would have fought a battle to save these places, representing to him that, in their present circumstances, it would be unwise and unsafe to risk their army.

Upon the return of the army of the Duke of Ormond, the troops were mostly disbanded, and a general disarming was begun in England. At the same time Secretary Bolingbroke, who had told de Torcy that his queen "had taken steps beyond ordinary rules," was sent over as ambassador to Paris to facilitate the conclusion of the peace begun to be negotiated at Utrecht, which he went prepared to do by playing into the hands of France and the Pretender. He was accompanied by Prior the poet. Shortly after his arrival a cessation of hostilities was agreed to for Italy, together with a safe passage for all the Austrians from Spain back to Italy. It was also agreed that the Pretender should retire to Lorraine; and that security for his person, during his residence in that country, should be demanded from the Duke of Lorraine and the emperor. De Torcy presented the draft of Philip's Act of Renunciation, which Bolingbroke sent to the lord treasurer. Bolingbroke further agreed to a truce with France by land and sea for four months longer, and invited the allies to join in it. He then returned to England elate with the flattering distinctions he had received at Paris, the atmosphere of which place seemed native to him: for, in head and heart, in his good qualities as well as in his evil ones, in his style and in his thoughts, Bolingbroke was more French than English. He left Matthew Prior behind him to finish the negotiations. On the 10th of September the secretary wrote from London to the poet: "For God's sake, dear Mat, for God's sake, hide the nakedness of thy country, and

give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets!" The secretary recommended "management" and "appearance." It was, therefore, high time for the Dutch to think for themselves; and early in October they most reluctantly yielded many of their pretensions. But now the demands of the French rose as those of the Dutch declined: and they advanced claim upon claim, till even Bolingbroke was obliged to exclaim, "By heaven! they treat like pedlars: or, which is worse, like attorneys!"* But this mode of dealing was the inevitable consequence of the unwise and ungenerous measures which had been adopted by the English cabinet; the signing the separate truce, the withdrawing our army from Flanders, and the whole tone of our diplomacy—measures in which Bolingbroke himself had undeniably been a conspicuous counsellor and chief actor. We cannot help thinking that the brilliant qualities of this intriguing politician, his masterly pen, his ready and searching wit, aided by many amiable and engaging traits of personal character, have too much blinded the world to his political profligacy, and even occasioned far too high an estimate of his political knowledge and address. A few more such brilliant men as Bolingbroke would have given us something like a French despotism in government, together with a French code of morals.

In the meanwhile Lord Lexington had proceeded to Madrid, where, on the 5th of November, and in the presence of the Council of State, and of the chief nobility, King Philip signed his renunciation of the French succession, and swore upon the Holy Evangelists to observe it in all time and under all temptations. The Spaniards at Madrid and in all parts of the kingdom, except in a corner of it, were contented and jubilant; but in that corner, which was the exception, the predominant feelings were a hatred of the Bourbon, and a

* Prior's Negotiations.—Letters of Bolingbroke in Hardwicke State Papers.—De Torcy, Memoirs.

detestation of the English, who had given them up to his dominion. The Catalonians had been invited and incited to take up arms by the English, who had most solemnly engaged never to forsake them or betray them, yet all the British troops there had been recalled; the Imperialists, the troops and officers of the claimant Charles, had thus been obliged to withdraw for their own safety: and, forsaken by all, the poor Catalonians were left to the vengeance of the king whom they had so long and so bravely opposed, and to the fierce retaliation of the neighbouring provinces. Our troops were also withdrawn from Portugal, but the sovereign of that country had been brought into the truce, and could depend upon being secured in the definitive treaty.

Matthew Prior, after all, was only a poet. It seemed necessary to the Tories to have a duke at Paris. And which of all the dukes of England and Scotland was the one appointed at this critical juncture to represent Queen Anne at the French court? It was that shuffling Jacobite, the Duke of Hamilton, who had continued in constant correspondence with the court of St. Germain.

Even before Mrs. Masham and Harley had undermined the Whig ministry, Hamilton had been an acceptable visitor at the court of St. James's, but since the absolute prevalence there of the Tory party, he had been closeted far more frequently with the queen. It was impossible to avoid dark suspicions. Burnet says, "the Duke of Hamilton's being now appointed to go to the court of France gave melancholy speculations to those who thought him much in the Pretender's interest: he was considered, not only in Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his party; but a dismal accident put an end to his life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his embassy." His grace of Hamilton had been engaged in some law-suits, and had contracted a violent hatred against Lord Mohun, a man whose fierce passions fell little short of madness. At an accidental meeting, the duke, it is said, grossly insulted his lordship, who thereupon sent him a challenge. The spirit

of party has so completely seized this subject as to make it difficult to ascertain the true story. On Saturday morning, the 15th of November, the keepers of Hyde Park heard a clashing of swords, and, running to the spot, which was in Kensington Gardens, they found both the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun weltering in their blood and dying. Colonel Hamilton, the duke's second, and near relative, remained on the field, and was taken prisoner; but General Macartney, Mohun's second, ran off and escaped. Colonel Hamilton, when brought before the council, deposed that the seconds, that is, himself and Macartney, had fought as well as the principals, and he hinted that his grace had had foul play at the hands of Macartney. The colonel's deposition is far from being entitled to implicit credit; it seems to have been rambling and inconclusive, and the relation in which he stood to the deceased duke, and his political and personal prejudices, render his testimony suspicious. It is true General Macartney fled to the Continent, instead of staying to explain the duel, and rebut his adversary's charges; but in such a business, an innocent and a brave man may reasonably have dreaded the vengeance of the powerful Tory party and the violent excitement of the people, who had been assured by some about court, that the duel was from beginning to end a most foul and premeditated murder, undertaken at the desire and instigation of a desperate Whig faction that had posted other men of the same stamp as Macartney all round Hyde Park to assassinate the duke in case he had escaped the swords of Lord Mohun and his second. Swift, in the 'Examiner,' held up Lord Mohun as a profligate, whose hands had been already dyed with three foul murders; and, generally, the writers on the Tory side maintained that both Mohun and Macartney had been "incited to undertake the quarrel, by a cer a party of men who were no great friends to the gov - ment." The Whig writers, on the other side, maintai d that the combat of principals and seconds had b n savagely but fairly fought, and that there was no in - ment to it beyond the old animosities existing betw n

Hamilton and Mohun, and the recent insult offered by his grace to his lordship. Cunningham says, that Hamilton, "being challenged to a duel by the Lord Mohun, killed his antagonist; but was himself also killed, as was supposed, by General Macartney, Mohun's second." But this does not imply that there was anything unfair in the proceeding, for the combat was general: Macartney, on the fall of his friend, was left single-handed to face two adversaries; and the instinct of self-preservation and the desire of avenging Mohun, would account for, and in such a business justify, his attacking Hamilton. But though the Whigs exculpated themselves from the foul charge of promoting a murder, they scarcely pretended to conceal that they were glad at Hamilton's death; and they interpreted the rage of their opponents into a proof of the hopes they had entertained from that Jacobite nobleman's embassy to France, and his conferences there with the Pretender. In lieu of the deceased duke, the Duke of Shrewsbury was now nominated, and he proceeded forthwith to Paris, where Matthew Prior still remained to assist in the negotiations. The Tories, or the Jacobities, had not hesitated to accuse the Duke of Marlborough of being concerned in Hamilton's death; and as the fallen and discontented lord-general left England shortly after to fix his residence on the Continent, his departure was construed into a proof of his guilt and of his fear of the consequences. But Marlborough's silent and apparently secret departure out of England has been accounted for upon much better grounds. Godolphin, his best ally, "the man of the clearest head and the calmest temper," had died in the preceding month of September, and since then the court fury against the Whig party, and against the Marlboroughs in particular, had increased, as, in due proportion, had the audacity and unscrupulousness of the general's personal and political enemies. "If he had stayed in England," says Burnet, "it was not to be doubted but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately secured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be oc-

casion for it. There were two suits begun against him: the one was for the two-and-a-half per cent. that the foreign princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the Acts of Parliament that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was said the queen built the house for him: yet, now that the tradesmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000*l.*, the queen refused to pay any more, and set them upon suing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond sea, both those suits were stayed, which gave occasion to the people to imagine that the ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect put on a man whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot only to render his stay in England uneasy to him." But whatever was the motive for his going, Marlborough, who was followed a few weeks after by his duchess, never returned to England until Anne was safely deposited in Westminster Abbey. Another fact, which is equally certain, is, that from his foreign retirement Marlborough, notwithstanding his frequent correspondence with the House of Hanover, continued also to correspond with the court of St. Germain, and to express his unalterable attachment to the Pretender.*

A.D. 1713.—To allow time for the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht and the arrival of Lord Bolingbroke, who had returned to the Continent to hasten it, the meeting of parliament had been put off by seven prorogations: at length, however, on the 3rd of April, Bolingbroke arrived, and the session opened on the 9th of the same month.

On the 4th of May, exactly eleven years after the proclamation of this costly war, peace was proclaimed

* Dalrymple, Memoirs.—Macpherson, Stuart Papers

London. Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy had reluctantly signed the treaty of Utrecht; but the Emperor, both in his hereditary capacity of sovereign of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, &c., and as head of the German empire, persisted in refusing to be a party to it, and in proclaiming in protests and manifestos that he, a principal in the Grand Alliance, had been abandoned and betrayed. As finally settled, this famous or infamous treaty left, or seemed to leave, France more powerful than she was at the commencement of the war. Its main articles were—1. That the French king recognised the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover, and engaged for himself, his heirs, and successors, not to suffer the Pretender to return into his dominions, nor in any way to succour or assist him. 2. That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. 3. That the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. 4. Hudson's Bay and Straits were to remain to Great Britain, and satisfaction was to be made by France to the Hudson Bay Company for damages received; the whole island of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and the island of Newfoundland were to belong of right to Great Britain, the French having huts there to dry their fish, and liberty to fish only from Cape Bonavista to the northern point of Newfoundland. 5. The French in Canada were not to molest the five nations of Indians subject to Great Britain. 6. All letters of reprisal, mark, and countermark, were to be annulled. 7. England was to retain Minorca and Gibraltar, as provided in a separate treaty with Philip, as King of Spain. (This was all of the treaty that directly regarded the interests of Great Britain.) 8. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands were to be ceded to the emperor, in lieu of his claim to the Spanish crown. 9. Sicily was to be disjoined from Naples, and transferred to the Duke of Savoy with the regal title; and the eventual succession to the crown of Spain was, in default of descendants from the Bourbon Philip, to be vested in the House of Savoy. 10. In addition to the places anciently possessed by the

Dutch, to strengthen their frontier, Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and Newport were to be assigned as a perpetual barrier, as had been previously stipulated by the new Barrier-Treaty signed by the ministers of Great Britain and the States-General on the 30th of January. The emperor was to be allowed to the 1st of June to declare his acceptance or non-acceptance of the terms proposed.*

Fortune, or the better power that regulates human events, nullified in the end the fears which Europe had entertained of a Bourbon reign in Spain; but at the time when those fears originated, and even when the treaty of Utrecht was signed, they were neither unfounded nor unimportant; they were, on the contrary, of the highest importance to every power in Europe. It happened that the sickly boy that stood between Philip and the French throne lived to be king, and to beget and leave heirs behind him, so that neither Philip nor his successor was tempted to break the solemn engagement and renunciation made; but if the boy Louis (afterwards the fifteenth of that name) had died, can it be believed for a moment that Philip would not have grasped at the succession? Yet this long war, so ingloriously terminated, had not been without its effects; all the blood and treasure spent had not been absolutely thrown away. The haughtiest, the most arrogant, overbearing, and ambitious sovereign of Europe had been checked, humiliated, and brought to reason; the spell of the French name—the belief that they were all but invincible in the field—had been thoroughly broken, and this mainly through the valour

* Many of the princes of his empire seemed determined to support the emperor in resisting the treaty. This was particularly the case with Hanover. In the debates in parliament some of the Whigs objected that this peace could not be called a general peace, since the emperor, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes and states of the empire, were not yet come into it. But ministers replied that, indeed the peace was not universal, but still might be called general, since the major part of the allies had signed it.—*Royer's Detection.*

of British troops and the military genius of an English general; our martial reputation had been raised to the highest pitch—a thing insignificant only in the eyes of a few dreaming theorists and impracticable humanists; France had been so weakened and exhausted as not to be in a condition to give any serious alarm to the world for some generations; and Holland, for the present, was comparatively secured from attack. At home this long war had given fresh vigour and impulses to the mind of the people, and rubbed off the rust which had been contracted under the two last princes of the House of Stuart.

Such as it was, the treaty of Utrecht was easily swallowed by the sitting parliament, who, however, raised strong objections to the commercial treaty with France by which it was accompanied. Bolingbroke, and those who acted with him or under him, had agreed that all the goods and commodities of France should be received in England on the footing of the most favoured nations; and that the goods and commodities of England should be received in France on the like terms. This appears like a dawning of the reciprocity system of our own day; and the merit of it is attributed to the bright intellect of Bolingbroke. It should appear, however, that the merit was really due to Mr. Arthur Moore, who had risen from the humble condition of a livery-servant to be a merchant of great wealth and influence, and a political economist far in advance of his time. The English manufacturers, particularly of woollen and silk goods, complained loudly against the commercial treaty. Sir Charles Cooke, Sir Theodore Janson, and other eminent merchants of London, launched a periodical paper to make war on the project.* Among other things, these wiseacres asserted that a free trade with France would be a greater calamity than the fire of London; that country gentlemen and landholders would be brought to poverty by the rapid decay of their rents; and that the

* The British Merchant—afterwards collected and republished in 3 vols.

working people would be reduced to the cruel alternative of starvation or emigration. Numerous petitions and remonstrances were presented all in the same spirit.

The commercial treaty fell to the ground, and helped to destroy the ministry, who also soon began to find that the popular joy for the peace was a very evanescent feeling, and that all classes were beginning to criticise even the main treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty the Pretender had been obliged to withdraw from St. Germain: Louis, indeed, was bound to send him out of France; but he allowed him to take up his residence at Bar-le-duc in Lorraine, which, though nominally a separate country, was as entirely a portion of France as its geographical position and the insignificance of its rulers could make it. Concluding that it would be as easy for the Pretender to carry on his intrigues with Scotland and England from Bar-le-duc as from St. Germain, Lord Wharton, on the 29th of June, without notice given, moved in the Upper House for an address entreating the queen "to use her most pressing instances for removing the Pretender from the Duke of Lorraine's dominions." Not one of the court party ventured to oppose the motion—so powerful was the dread of any suspicion of Jacobitism, and even with those who fondly fancied at the queen's demise it would be an easy thing to restore the outcast Stuart; but at length Lord North timidly observed, that to carry the motion would show a distrust of her majesty; and he asked where they would have the Pretender live, if they insisted upon driving him from all the states that were then in friendship with England?* The motion, however, was unanimously carried; and, two days after, General Stanhope made precisely the same motion in the Commons. Here was the same timidity also. Only Sir William Whitelock said drily, "t he remembered how the like address was formerly n to Oliver Cromwell for having Charles Stuart remc l

* Lord Peterborough said, with more wit than fee that, as the Pretender had begun his studies at Paris, he better go and finish them at Rome.

out of France; and yet Charles had been brought back to the throne. It is surmised that the Jacobites in the House remained so quiet from having the fear of the approaching elections before their eyes.* The two addresses were carried up to the queen, who, probably without doing much violence to her feelings, pretended to be satisfied with them, and promised to act accordingly, or to use her best endeavours to get the Pretender removed out of Lorraine. The negotiation for the removal was intrusted to Bolingbroke and Prior, who both, together with the French minister de Torcy, treated it as a jest. It appears, indeed, that Bolingbroke himself privately furnished the Duke of Lorraine with pretexts for eluding the very demands which he (Bolingbroke) was making publicly.†

When the House of Commons—pressed for large supplies notwithstanding the peace—were proceeding to renew the malt-tax for another year, it was proposed, and eventually carried, that this tax should be extended to Scotland, which had hitherto been free from it. The Scottish members and the Scottish peers, who had many other grievances, some imaginary, but others real and serious, held a meeting, and deputed two lords and two commoners to remonstrate with the queen against "such a breach of the articles of Union as prompted them to declare it dissolved." Anne reproved them for their precipitation, and thought the threat would end there. But on the 14th of June Lord Findlater moved in the Upper House for leave to bring in a Bill to dissolve the Union. What followed upon this motion is one of the most atrocious instances upon record of the rancour and recklessness of party or faction. The Whigs, whose brightest work had been the carrying of the Union in the teeth of the all but unanimous Tory opposition, now changed sides, and, like foul infanticides, endeavoured to destroy the best of their progeny, that they might step over its bleeding body into the cabinet. Perhaps it may be said that the Whigs did not intend the dis-

* Lord Mahon.

† Letter of the Abbé Gaultier to de Torcy.

severance to be lasting; but, if it had happened only for a day, the advancing clock of British civilization would have been put back a whole century. And yet, what with Whig lords that were scheming, and Scottish lords that were furious, or sold, body and soul, to the Pretender, the motion was rejected only by a majority of *four*. Some good, however, seems to have come out of this madness. Several injuries inflicted upon Scotland were exposed, and English legislators were reminded of the necessity of proceeding more gently with a high-spirited and resolute people.

On the 16th of July Anne closed the session with an energetic speech, in which she took honour to herself for having concluded a war, which she found prepared for her on her accession, by a safe and honourable peace. As its three years had expired, the prorogation of this parliament was followed, on the 8th of August, by its dissolution by proclamation.

Some important changes were made in court and cabinet. The Duke of Shrewsbury was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the Duke of Ormond, one of the most resolute of the Jacobites, was appointed governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, as if to facilitate the landing of the Pretender in England; Lord Lansdowne became treasurer of the household, and Lord Dartmouth privy seal; Bromley, the Tory leader in the Commons, was made joint secretary with Lord Bolingbroke; Benson was created Lord Bingley, and sent on an embassy to Spain, being succeeded in his post of chancellor of the exchequer by Sir William Wyndham, then a friend of Bolingbroke. In these changes the ascendancy of Bolingbroke was made visible: and, indeed, by means of Lady Masham, the intriguing secretary seemed to be getting the treasurer's staff within his grasp. Emboldened by success, Bolingbroke now gave a freer scope to the evil genius by which he was possessed; and the suspicion he excited in the House of Hanover, and the mortal offence he gave them, made his case hopeless if they should ascend the English throne, and therefore urged him forward in his by-paths and intrigues, as

offering his only chance of self-security in after-time. The frequent illnesses of the queen must have forced these considerations upon him incessantly; and we believe that in them, and in the pride of the man's heart—in the satisfaction of overcoming difficulties which seemed insuperable to every other statesman,—may be found the motives of Bolingbroke's proceedings to bring in the Pretender. Perhaps, also, part of Oxford's timidity on this subject may have arisen out of the circumstance that he enjoyed less of the queen's confidence than his rival, and had infinitely less art than Bolingbroke in detecting secret and studiously concealed inclinations. The secretary had been for some time convinced that Anne, more out of her hatred to the House of Hanover than out of any family affection, would gladly contribute to placing the crown on the Pretender's head after her own death, if she could be certain that she could do it without danger to herself, and also certain that the Pretender would enter the pale of the Church of England, out of which she seems conscientiously to have believed that there was no salvation, and no possibility of ruling the English people. The genius of Bolingbroke, overlooking these ifs and hypotheses, and the startling array of national feeling and parliamentary authority, presumed that, through the partialities of a weak woman and the energies and resources of his own mind, he could set aside the Act of Succession, and bring in the Stuart. At this time the diplomatic intercourse between England and Hanover was anything rather than smooth: the queen considered herself highly insulted by the elector's adhering to his liege lord the emperor, and by the obstacles he had raised to the treaty of Utrecht. Anne, in her own court, spoke most disrespectfully both of George and of his aged mother, and encouraged the jests and satires that were made upon their serene highnesses by her familiars. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian resident, knew not how to act or what to think—except that there was a design on foot against his master.

Letters were brought over from the Pretender and his chief advisers (as they had been before) to entreat all

the friends of the good cause to vote for the Tories, and to exert themselves strenuously in the elections for the new parliament. [Yet Oxford, according to a Jacobite letter, had "lately put in some of the most violent Whigs to be high sheriffs in some counties, on purpose to influence the next elections in favour of the Whigs."]* The Tories stood upon the peace and upon the broad basis of the high-church interest, and so despondent were the friends of the Protestant succession, that General Stanhope told Schutz that the majority of *country gentlemen* would surely be against them; and that, if things continued on their present footing, the elector, George, would not come to the crown unless he came with an army. Still, however, the Whigs made extraordinary exertions, taking *their* stand upon the treaty of commerce and the old jealousies of the nation against everything French. This last was their best card; and, to show their concern for trade and the staple commodity, they wore pieces of wool in their hats, while the Tories wore green boughs, to recall the memory of the oak of Boscabel and the Restoration of King Charles II. After the two parties had tried their strength in all the counties and boroughs, it was found that the Whigs were a trifle more successful in this election than at the last.

The foreign transactions of the year 1713 heaped fresh

* Extract of a letter from Father Innes, in Macpherson, Stuart Papers. The very next letter in this strange repository of intrigue and baseness is from a Mrs. White in England to the Pretender's minister in France. After speaking about a considerable sum "for him that was of the best quality"—meaning Secretary Bolingbroke,—Mrs. White says that she cannot change her opinion about the trimming and shuffling Harley (Oxford). "He would," she says, "engage all; but keeps the balance in his own powe[illegible] give a turn the way he thinks will prove most suitabl[illegible] continue for his own private interest. He makes him[illegible] many enemies, and secures but few friends; for those [illegible] are in the king's interest abominate the trimming wa[illegible] takes; and he will not be able to go on much longer wit[illegible] giving some other demonstration than he yet has."

disgrace upon the flag or the government of England. Philip, as King of Spain, had renewed the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1667, which granted to England the monopoly of a detestable traffic—"the Assiento," or the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with African slaves. He had also, on the representations of the English government, engaged to grant their lives, estates, and honours to the steady and unfortunate adherents of the Austrian claimant, the brave Catalans, for all that had been done by them during this war. There were to be exceptions, as a matter of course; but as many of the Catalans as pleased were to be allowed liberty to remove to Italy with their effects. But the people of that province, who before now had braved for years the whole power of Spain, distrusted and refused the conditions offered to them, and prepared once more to defend themselves against the armies of Philip. If the Bourbon had depended only on Spanish troops, the struggle might again have lasted twelve years; but Philip got veteran troops from France, and the Duke of Berwick for his active and able general; and the "rebellion," as it was now styled even by some of the powers that had landed the Austrian Charles there, and put arms in the hands of the natives, was quenched in a sea of blood—leaving the Catalans good cause to curse the name of England and of Austria. As for the emperor, he would have assisted them, or at least for his own interest he would have prolonged the struggle in Spain, if he had been able; but, left to carry on the war single-handed, it was with extreme difficulty he could defend himself upon the Rhine, where the French retook Landau, and gained other decided advantages, which made him listen to pacific proposals, that led, in the autumn, to a conference at Rastadt between Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars. The negotiations were broken off, but each party soon saw the propriety of yielding something: Eugene and Villars met again at Rastadt, where it was finally agreed that France should continue in possession of the whole of Alsace, with Landau, Strasburg, and the fortresses of Huninghen and New

Brisac, in their integrity, and not dismantled as proposed in the treaty of Utrecht; and that the allies of France, the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, should be relieved from the ban of the empire, and reinstated in their respective dominions. It was further agreed, however, that there should be a kind of congress held at Baden in the spring of the following year, to regulate other matters so as to perpetuate the peace between the French king and the emperor. We may mention here, that when that meeting took place the pope's nuncio was present as one of the congress, and that when the emperor desired that ministers of England and Holland should also be admitted, it was resolutely refused by France. When Anne complained of this, the French king replied that he would do her majesty all good offices, and take all possible care of the interests of Great Britain. The Emperor Charles was solicited, like the other Catholic princes, by the court of Rome and by the Pretender; and it was feared that, to avenge the faithless defection of Queen Anne, which had cost him so dear, his Imperial majesty might make common cause with France and Rome in abetting the outcast Stuart, and forcing him back upon the English nation. It was even rumoured that the emperor had expressly stipulated to support the cause of the exiled family, and to give one of his nieces in marriage to the Pretender. Oxford, in a conversation with the Whig ex-chancellor Lord Cowper, accused the Duke of Marlborough of promoting this marriage.* The conferences both at Rastadt and Baden were therefore watched with the greatest anxiety in England; and so low had the real victrix in the war now fallen, that she was grateful for an assurance that the emperor would not interfere in the internal concerns of England. Her name, in fact, was not mentioned in the treaty.

In the mean time the government of England had fal into contempt at home, and the intrigues of the court l thickened, and continued still to thicken, with every r

* Lord Cowper's Diary, in Coxe's Life of Marlborou

attack of the gout or other illness of her majesty. Anne's own mind was divided and agitated by different partialities and conflicting passions; and the two women whom she chiefly consulted, and upon whose advice she relied, as she had done in former times upon that of the Duchess of Marlborough, entertained notions diametrically opposite. The Duchess of Somerset was favourable to the House of Hanover, and wrought upon the weak mind of Anne through her dread of Popery and her high Church-of-Englandism, not hesitating to hint that she would risk her soul's eternal welfare, if she exposed her people to the dangers of Popery by contributing to the succession of a prince who had been nurtured in the Roman creed, who had lived all his life in Roman Catholic countries, and who had rejected every overture made to him about changing his religion or conforming, even in outward appearances, to the Anglican church. Lady Masham, on the other side, was enthusiastic for the Pretender. As early as the year 1710 that bedchamber-woman had put herself at the head of schemes and projects for changing the destiny of her country: according to the Duke of Berwick, the Abbé Gaultier, when charged with secret negotiations between France and England, waited upon him at St. Germain to communicate secret messages and overtures from Lord Treasurer Oxford, and told him of the designs of the English minister in favour of the Pretender, stating, however, that Oxford insisted on three conditions:—1. That no one at St. Germain, not even the Pretender's mother, should be let into the secret; 2. That Anne should enjoy the crown during her life; 3. That security should be given for the church and constitution of England. Berwick informs us that he willingly agreed to all this, and that the Pretender did the same.

In consequence of the clandestine expedition to Paris of Gaultier and Matthew Prior, M. Ménager, it will be remembered, came over to England. An important part of the mission with which Ménager was charged was, to ascertain what could be done for the Pretender, and what was the real state of Anne's feeling towards him. Lord

Bolingbroke, then Mr. St. John, introduced Ménager to the she-favourite, saying, that he did not choose to meddle further in the matter himself, but that her majesty had allowed him to introduce Ménager to Mrs. Masham. When the Frenchman and the bedchamber-woman came together they presently agreed upon two points: 1. That, for the satisfaction of the people at home, the King of France should be required in Anne's name to abandon her brother and his interest, *on pretence of adhering to the succession as it was now established;* 2. That, nevertheless, the seeming to abandon the said interest was to be so understood, that the king should not be obliged, in case of her majesty's decease, not to use his endeavours for the placing the said prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right. "Mrs. Masham further told me," says Ménager, "that it was the present unhappiness of the queen to possess the throne of her brother, which she had no other claim to than what the political measures of the state had made legal, and, in a sort, necessary." With the perfect understanding that the renunciation of the Pretender and the recognition of the Hanoverian succession was a mere show—a thing to be said and written, but not observed by his master Louis, Ménager repaired to Utrecht, where he was a principal negotiator, and where he found that the English plenipotentiaries had not received any such private instructions as Lady Masham had given him reason to expect would be sent to them; and he afterwards discovered that the agents of the court of St. Germain had made the interests of the Chevalier or Pretender the subject of a private negotiation with the ministry in England. When Oxford had amused these agents as long as was thought necessary, he began to start numerous objections and difficulties, and to urge the necessity of time and patience in working out so g t and perilous a scheme. And the Jacobite agents w at last obliged to represent to the court at Versail , "that the ministry in England were men of no hon ; that they had held them in suspense for a long ti ; and that now, they not only did not come to the p t

with them, but declined any conversation on the subject." Lady Masham, who had wished the Pretender to depend upon, and to owe his fortunes to, Bolingbroke, afterwards wrote to Ménager to express her disappointment and vexation. "I take it for granted," says the bedchamber-woman, "that they (the court of St. Germain) are fallen into the hands of my lord treasurer (Oxford). If their assurances are from him, I doubt not he values himself upon having deceived them."* "In this manner," says the Duke of Berwick, in his Memoirs, when treating of the year 1714, "did Oxford amuse us, and it was difficult to prevent it; for to break with him would have been the destruction of everything, because he had the power in his hands, and governed Queen Anne. We were, therefore, forced *to pretend to trust to him;* but, at the same time, we neglected not to concert measures privately with the Duke of Ormond, *and many other persons*, in order that we might bring about this matter by their means, if Oxford should fail us." Among the *many other persons* thus alluded to as trusty Jacobites was the Duke of Buckingham. During the winter (1713-14) Anne was seized with a dangerous illness at Windsor; and for some time it was believed that the gout had mounted to her stomach. The nation was thrown into alarm—the intriguing ministry into an agonising panic. Oxford, the very last man that had a right to complain of indecision and procrastination, said to his penman and confidant Swift, "These people, when the queen is ill, think she has not an hour to live; and when she is better, they act as if she were immortal."† A run was made upon the Bank; it was reported that an armament was prepared in the ports of France to bring over the Pretender; and the funds, ever susceptible and ever timid, fell. To quiet these alarms, the suffering Anne was obliged by her ministers to write a letter to the lord mayor of London.

* Minutes of Ménager's Negotiations, in Macpherson, Stuart Papers.—Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.

† Swift's Works, Inquiry.

A.D. 1714.—The new parliament, which had been originally summoned for the 12th of the preceding November, met on the 16th of February. On the 2nd of March her majesty delivered the speech from the throne. "I wish," she said, "that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers and factious rumours, by which designing men have been able to sink credit, and the innocent have suffered. There are some, also, arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate that the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under my government. Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischief upon us." Nevertheless the Whigs remaining in parliament resolved to prove the truth of the position, that the Protestant succession *was* in danger. They began in the Lords, where Sunderland, Cowper, Halifax, and Wharton urged the perils arising from the Pretender's continuing in Lorraine, and carried an address for praying for an account of what steps had been taken by government to procure his removal. Lord Oxford had recourse to one of his tricks; and he moved for a Bill "for the further security of the Protestant succession, to make it high treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom." He thought that this would have the outward appearance of zeal and patriotism; but his real intention was to prevent the landing of the Electoral Prince of Hanover with an armed force, a desperate expedient which now began to be talked of, and which had been recommended—among others by the Duke of Marlborough!—to the House of Hanover as the only likely means of making sure of the succession. But the lord treasurer's device was transparent: he was called upon to explain his meaning, [illegible] upon being compelled to say that he meant the Bi[illegible] o apply only to foreign troops introduced by the Preten[illegible] he was told that then it must be altogether unnecess[illegible] for by all laws such troops, if foreigners, would be pu[illegible] c enemies, and if natives, rebels. The Bill was acc[illegible] ingly lost, and Oxford greatly disconcerted. The W[illegible] g

lords continued their attack; and Lord Wharton moved, in direct terms, that the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration. The debate was exceedingly hot. Several peers who had hitherto figured as warm Tories and supporters of the administration—as the Archbishop of York and several bishops, the Earls of Abingdon, Jersey, and the Lords Ashburnham and Carteret—turned round on this critical occasion and voted with the Whigs. Yet, in the end, the vote that the succession was *not* in danger was carried by a majority of twelve—exactly the number of the recently created peers. The House of Commons, however, on the motion of Sir Edward Knatchbull, resolved itself into committee on the same question. In that House also many Tories, of the class generally styled the Hanoverian Tories, quitted the ministerial ranks and voted with the Whigs. The Speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, was one of these seceders; and he delivered a speech which was considered powerful and effective by many who were Tories without any taint of Jacobitism. A minority of 208 voted with him against 256—a diminution in the majority which spread consternation in part of the cabinet, and gave joy to the rest, for Bolingbroke's main endeavour was at the moment to overthrow the lord treasurer. The Tories too—Jacobites and all—were obliged, for the sake of appearances, to agree with the Whigs in a resolution that the queen should be desired to renew her instances for the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine. This address was also carried in the Upper House, where Lord Wharton further moved that her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive. Notwithstanding their desire and their interest in keeping up the popular excitement, and notwithstanding the risk they incurred of being denounced as Jacobites, several of the Whigs opposed this motion. Lords North and Grey said that such a proclamation, with the words dead or alive, would look like an encouragement to assassination, and he implored the House not to take a step so inconsistent with its high character, and with the character

of a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency. Lord Trevor declared that no man had more respect and affection for the House of Hanover, but that they must excuse him if he would not venture his soul's perdition for them:—and he proposed as an amendment, "that the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land either in Great Britain or Ireland." This was carried; the time of issuing the proclamation was left to the queen's own discretion; and Anne was thus relieved from the necessity of putting a price upon her brother's head. But in the strife of parties, and in the well-founded apprehensions of the time, the merciful alteration was carried by a majority of no more than ten. At this moment Anne was in the worst of humours; irritated on the one side by the almost total defection of the bench of bishops, and the open hostility of many formerly deemed the most submissive of Tories; and scared on the other side by endeavours made and making by the Whigs to bring over the Electoral Prince of Hanover. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, had standing instructions to adhere to, and constantly consult with, the Whig leaders, Somers, Halifax, and Cowper, and with other lords and members of the Commons that were the undoubted and zealous friends of that succession. The envoy's house had thus become a place of constant resort and consultation; and, as they grew bolder with their growing strength in parliament, the Whigs proposed that Schutz should demand from the queen a writ of summons for the electoral prince, who, having been created a British peer by the title of Duke of Cambridge, only wanted the writ to be able to come over and take his seat in the House of Lords. The envoy, doing readily what he was asked to do, went at once to the Lord Chancellor Harcourt.*

This proceeding incensed the queen, perplexed her ministers in the extreme, and led to an angry correspondence with the court of Hanover, to still more vic it

* Macpherson, Hanover Papers.

storms in England, and to intrigues and counter intrigues, which were innumerable and are now almost inexplicable. Oxford protested to the elector that he and Lady Masham were devoted to his interests, and after this he laboured to show that the coming over of the electoral prince would be far more fatal to the interests of his family than it would be unpleasant to her majesty. "Let me, in confidence, tell you," said he, "that there is but one thing that can be any way of prejudice to the succession, and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the queen's consent. Two courts in this country have been so fatal, and the factions are so high, that it must be very mischievous both to the queen and to the serene House to have any such thing enterprised that may create a difference between the queen and that family: *that* will change the dispute to the crown and the succession; whereas now it is between the House of Hanover and a Popish Pretender. I will add but this one word, that I will assure you that, upon any advances of kindness from the House of Hanover, I will pawn my life for it, they shall receive most essential proofs of the queen's friendship; and I am sure *that* is the best confirmation of their succession."* Even thus lightly could the prime minister of England speak of the solemn and repeated Acts of Parliament, which alone were competent to decide the question. "There have been, however," says Schutz, "great rejoicings over all the city, since it was made public that I had asked the writ for the prince; and some have no doubts of his coming speedily, as others most certainly fear it. The bells were ringing for some days past, and healths drunk to his good journey." The envoy, from all that he saw, was convinced more and more of the needfulness of the journey; and he was further urged and impelled by the Whig leaders, who seem scarcely ever to have left him. In the end the writ for the electoral prince was refused, and Schutz, being forbid the court, made haste back to Hanover to justify himself; and the Duke of Marlborough wrote to recommend that

* Macpherson, State Papers.

the prince should set out from Hanover to London, without caring for the refusal of the writ or the feelings of Queen Anne, whose life was believed to be very precarious.

"By this remedy," says Marlborough, "the succession will be secured without risk, without expense, and without war; and likewise it is very probable that France, seeing herself anticipated in that manner, will abandon her design of assisting the Pretender." General Cadogan and other leading Whigs wrote pressing letters to the same effect. The Archbishop of York also sent professions of attachment. "I hope," said the archbishop, "your royal highness will every day more and more have the satisfaction of seeing that, not only I myself, but the whole body of our clergy, are faithful and zealous, as becomes us, in this respect; and that the same good spirit is still among us, which so laudably, and, through the blessing of God, successfully, opposed and got the better of the attempts of France and Popery in King James's reign." A day or two after writing this letter, the Archbishop of York was sent for by Queen Anne, who was now getting greatly alarmed at the nation's apparent convictions that she and her ministers were betraying them to France and the Pretender. The queen made the archbishop the greatest protestations that she was sincerely for the Protestant succession; but the prelate could not reconcile this with what he himself and every one saw. Alarm and vexation brought on the queen's old sickness. Her indisposition was a fresh cause for excitement to both courts. Her majesty, however took great pains to make known the conversation she had had with the Archbishop of York, and the assurances she had given that prelate. She, moreover—at least in outward appearance,—withdrew her confide—e from Bolingbroke, and put herself again in the han f the cautious Oxford. "The lord treasurer," says e Hanoverian agent, Galke, "is more than ever in cr it with the queen, and appears disposed to attach him lf to the electoral prince, as soon as he appears, in o r to gain him her majesty's good graces, and to over n

Bolingbroke. .... Bolingbroke is enraged at this, and it is not doubted but he will take his measures upon it in a manner suitable to his humour." In consequence of these changes the court of Hanover made a show of being satisfied with Oxford's intentions, and set some of their ministers to renew a friendly correspondence with him. But only a week after the Electoral House received fresh warnings from an "unknown friend," who stated that the Jacobites in London were inventing lies of every kind to destroy all hopes of the prince's coming, producing letters from Hanover to show that Schutz had been disavowed and very ill received there, that it was quite certain that the elector would not send his son to England. Mr. Bromley, one of the secretaries of state, in particular, had spoken in this manner; and the effect was, that the Pretender's faction were in transports of joy, and the friends of Hanover, both Whigs and Tories, in the utmost despair. The Duke of Argyll had been heard to exclaim that if the elector abandoned them in this manner, and refused to embrace an opportunity so favourable, so easy, and so conformable to English laws, sacrificing and abandoning them to the rage of their enemies, after all they had done for him, the Whigs could have no other resource, but to go to the other extremity, and invite the Pretender to come over on tolerable terms, and without a French army. Insults were still openly offered to the Acts of Succession, and to the right of the House of Hanover; and the queen had granted a pardon to Dr. Bedford, the author of a book on hereditary right, which attempted to disprove the claim of the electress to the British crown. All this was very significant; and the "unknown friend" conveyed another piece of information which was equally so. This was, that while the queen seemed to be dying, or at least in extreme danger, ministers were remodelling the army. "They continue," he says, "*to dismiss all the officers, civil and military, who presume to show any attachment to the Hanoverian succession;* and yet they give out that they have the greatest zeal and attachment to your court. It would be

very curious if they should succeed to persuade you of this." Lord Anglesea, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and other Hanoverian Tories, wrote letters equally urgent, and pledged themselves to preserve the right of the Electoral House, as fixed by parliament; and Galke informed the Hanoverian ministers that their friends expected that Prince George would set out on his journey immediately, thinking this "absolutely necessary, and that without it the Pretender would be soon at the English court, and be very well received there." As Anne grew worse, Cadogan wrote again to declare "the inexpressible impatience shown by every one here for news of the electoral prince's departure;" and his confirmed conviction, "that everything was irreparably lost if the resolution of sending him over were changed or delayed." This close and acute observer also intimated that the dissensions in the cabinet were increasing—that the quarrels between the lord treasurer and Bolingbroke were greater than ever. "It is true," he adds, "their common friends reconcile them for a day or two, but they quarrel more violently afterwards. The partisans of both the one and the other give out, that their leader possesses all the favour and confidence of the queen; but it is impossible to write anything positively on this subject, this scene at court having lately changed as frequently as the wind."

While thus pressed on the one side by the Whigs, the House of Hanover was cajoled on the other by Mr. Harley, brother of my Lord Oxford, and by letters from England, assuring them of the steadiness and affection of the queen. In these circumstances it was natural that that little court, always slow and circumspect, should hesitate and procrastinate. To remove these delays, the Duke of Marlborough, who at this moment seems to have been sincerely earnest for their succession, sent an agent of his own to Hanover, in the person of Mr. Molyne , recommended to that court by his grace as "bei a man of quality, who had very large possessions in - land, but principally as a man of parts and of merit, w a whose good principles he was well acquainted." M - ux was exceedingly well received by all the mem' s

of the Electoral House, and helped to defeat the mission of Mr. Harley, and to prove that his brother, the lord treasurer, was not to be depended upon in the slightest degree. Molyneux, who maintained a constant correspondence with the duke, and occasionally wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough, was useful in other respects, and more particularly in exalting the merits of the illustrious general, and proclaiming his entire devotion to the old electress and her family.

On the 30th of May (N. S.), Anne, finding or fearing that the Electoral House was no longer to be cajoled by professions and promises, resorted to threats, and wrote, or rather signed, a most bitter and reproachful letter to the elector. This royal epistle, which was carefully suppressed at the time, while others, addressed by her majesty to the same personage, were as carefully published and distributed to prove her affection to the Guelphs, ran in these words:—"As the rumour increases, that my cousin, the electoral prince, has resolved to come over to settle, in my lifetime, in my dominions, I do not choose to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my sentiments upon a subject of this importance. I then freely own to you, that I cannot imagine that a prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your electoral highness can ever contribute to such an attempt; and that I believe you are too just to allow that any infringement shall he made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority: I am no less delicate in that respect; and I am determined to oppose a project so contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the consequences may be. Your electoral highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness, that I give, on all occasions, proofs of my desire that your family should succeed to my crowns; which I always recommend to my people, as the most solid support of their religion and their laws. I employ all my attention, that nothing should efface those impressions from the hearts of my subjects; but it is not pos-

sible to derogate from the dignity and prerogatives of the prince who wears the crown, without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successors; therefore, I doubt not but, with your usual wisdom, you will prevent the taking such a step; and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you assurances of the most sincere friendship, with which I am,* &c."

This letter is said to have had among other effects the very serious one of killing the old Electress Sophia. The old lady was 84 years old, and had been accustomed to say, that, if she could only live to have "Sophia, Queen of England," written on her tombstone, she should die content. The journey of the electoral prince was now entirely given up. It appears that while he and his grandmother had been most eager for the expedition, his father, the elector, had been strongly opposed to it. By some the objections of the elector are attributed to caution and forethought, by others to mere constitutional irresolution; but there are others again who attribute them wholly and solely to his jealousy of his son, and to his fear that, if the young man got well established in England, he might, at the queen's death, keep the throne to himself, and get a parliamentary sanction for setting aside his senior and his parent.

On the side of the Pretender there had been no want of new intrigues and schemes. Every day, indeed, seems to have produced one. At the beginning of the year, the busy little Abbé Gaultier and the Duke of Berwick met again in France. Berwick, disgusted, as he says, with the slowness, irresolution, and coldness of the lord treasurer, at last determined to bring him to the point, so as to leave him no opportunity of further shuffling; and, by means of the abbé, he recommended to Oxford the following project:—That the Chevalier should go privately, and by himself, into England, and get a[illegible] pa[illegible] the queen, his sister, who should then go down t[illegible] her [illegible]iament and there explain that her brother's rig[illegible] to [illegible]n was incontestable; that she had taken a [illegible]o-

* Macpherson, who first published this letter.

lution to restore to him what belonged to him by all laws divine and human; that she nevertheless had taken proper measures with him to prevent any danger to the Church of England; it having been settled between them, that she should enjoy the crown during life, and educate him in England as her son, &c., &c. The Duke of Berwick was an excellent soldier, and a clever man in other respects; but his foreign education, habits, and associations had left him deplorably ignorant of the real condition of England, of the temper of the English people, and of the means of proceeding with them. Now, in England, the chief effort of the Jacobites was to obtain the dismissal of Oxford, and the promotion of Bolingbroke—an effort in which they were materially aided by the she-favourite Lady Masham, whose Jacobitism was made to throw out fresh and vigorous shoots by some cold water which the lord treasurer cast upon her greediness for money. Oxford felt himself tottering, and saw no prop at hand in any party. Berwick also wrote to the Duke of Ormond, and *many other persons*, urging them to awake from their lethargy, and take their precautions before the queen should die and leave them and their schemes open to their enemies, the Whigs. The Pretender at this moment was moving from place to place; and every movement seems to have been reported by secret agents both to the court of Hanover and to the Whig leaders in England, who were equally suspicious and anxious as to its meaning.

Up to the end of May, or beginning of June, the Whigs in England remained uncertain whether the electoral prince would come or not. Sir Thomas Hanmer, and others of the party called Hanoverian Tories, intimated that, as the affair had spun out to such a length, it might be better to wait for the next session of parliament, and to see, in the mean time, what might be done to secure that succession: but Halifax, Sunderland, Townshend, and the rest of the great Whig leaders, continued in their old opinion, that there was no time to lose, and that the electoral prince ought either to come at once, or to declare the reasons of his not coming; in order that his

friends might consider of something else, and concert the conduct best to follow, to keep up the spirits of their party. As it became evident, however, that the prince would not come over without that hopeless condition—the consent of the queen,—the Whigs insisted that new instruments of regency should be forwarded without loss of time, and that new credentials for the Hanoverian resident at London should be sent with them; as these things would be of the utmost importance in case of the queen's death. On the other side, Oxford was renewing his compliments to the Hanoverian diplomatists at London, at the Hague, and at Hanover, and was re-pledging himself to an entire friendship and a devotion to the cause of that House. "This," says Bothmar, who was at the Hague, "is a proof that Oxford finds himself falling. I shall make the most obliging answers to him, and will endeavour to make use of him, without giving my confidence to a man so double: perhaps we may draw some advantage from him, even though the other (Bolingbroke) should turn him out." Lord Paget, who had been appointed to proceed on the special embassy to Hanover, had been stopped when ready; and now the silly and incompetent Earl of Clarendon, with a "Jacobitish secretary," was sent in his stead. Bothmar describes this grandson of the renowned chancellor as "a selfish and presumptuous fool"—"a fool to such a degree, that, being appointed governor, by the queen, of the colony of Pennsylvania, he thought that it was necessary for him, in order to represent her majesty, to dress himself as a woman, which he actually did." This Hanoverian minister further adds, that the appointment of this "fool Clarendon" had been brought about by Bolingbroke, without the knowledge of Lord Oxford. Clarendon's instructions were written out by Secretary Bromley, and the great *gist* of the whole was, tha e should make the queen's mind easy, and prevent b ll means the coming at any time of the prince. His l l- ship was instructed to satisfy the elector that the qu n had no intention but to secure his succession; and it she was ready to do everything, consistent with the e

and quiet possession of the throne during her own time, that might contribute to that end. The resolution which the elector had come to, or which he probably had all along entertained, was confirmed; but, not to trust too much to her majesty, or her ministers, he ordered Bothmar to repair from the Hague to London, and attend to the suggestion touching the instruments of regency.*

The session of parliament, in which the Whigs had hoped to welcome Prince George into England, still lasted; and that now disappointed party continued to exercise the greatest vigilance. They were still alarmed by letters from France, importing that the Pretender was, with the utmost diligence, making preparations for some secret expedition; that he would soon be again in Scotland, or would go to Ireland. What was calculated to add materially to these alarms was the apprehension of several Jacobite agents that were impudently enlisting recruits for the Pretender's service in London and in different parts of the country. Lord Wharton waited upon the Lord Chief Justice Parker with positive information that two Irish officers in particular, named Hugh and William Kelly, were enlisting men in the city and in Westminster, almost under the eye of parliament. Parker issued warrants, and the two Irish officers were arrested, the one at Gravesend, the other at Deal, having about them passes from the Pretender's minister, the Earl of Middleton. They had not been very fortunate as recruiters, or the recruits were fortunate enough to escape detection, for not more than half a dozen were seized. The daring attempt, however, called for some severity; and after some short debate in the Houses, where all the Hanoverian Tories joined the Whigs, ministers, on the 23rd of June, issued a proclamation for apprehending

* In a letter written to Hanover by Secretary Galke, about this time, is this curious passage:—"I am assured, from very good authority, that Bolingbroke, having heard that Oxford said of him that he could prove he was a Jacobite, told one of his friends, that he had proofs in his hands to convict the other of being in the interest of the Pretender."—*Macpherson.*

the Pretender, whenever he should attempt to land, and promising a reward of 5000*l.* to any person or persons that should do that service and bring him to justice.

This session of parliament was made infamous by the passing of an act as intolerant and as tyrannical as anything that was ever done or attempted in the worst days of the House of Stuart. With party feelings all on the other side, but with perfect justice, and with a moderation of censure, Lord John Russell says:—"This bill may serve to show the principles, the views, and the intentions of the Tory party, and thereby give a notion of what might have been expected from them, had they succeeded in keeping the government of the state in their own hands during the succeeding reign."* The Hanoverian Tories were at least as averse to the Dissenters as to the Pretender; the surest way to conciliate them was to give a bonus to the high party in the church; and the high-churchism of the queen naturally grew higher with sickness and danger, and thoughts of another world. Bolingbroke, who could scoff and sneer at Christianity in all its branches and modifications, again put himself forward as a champion for the high-church party, trusting that whatever blows he dealt, and whatever wounds he inflicted, would tell against his rival Oxford, who, in his difficulties, was again attempting to effect a reconciliation with the low-churchmen; and who, moreover, at all times, was reluctant to adopt any decided measure. Bolingbroke, closeted with Atterbury, devised the infamous Schism Act: Bolingbroke drew it up in council, giving it the character of a government measure; and Bolingbroke, through the mouth of his friend Sir William Wyndham, brought it into parliament on the 12th day of May. The object of the bill was to prevent education by Dissenters in any way; to vest the rights of educating, as a monoply, in the church of England; and to pre[illegible]t Dissenters from keeping schools, even for their own [illegible]l-dren. In other words, it enacted that no perso[illegible]n Great Britain should keep any private or public sc[illegible]l,

* Hist. Europe.

or act as a tutor, unless he had previously subscribed the declaration to conform to the church of England, and obtained a licence from the bishop of the diocese, which licence was not to be granted until the party produced a certificate of his having received the sacrament, according to the communion of the church of England, within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: and any person acting in contravention of these arbitrary enactments was to be committed to prison without bail. The Whigs stood up to a man, and opposed the bill with all their might. Mr. Hampden, Mr. Robert Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and General Stanhope particularly distinguished themselves in the debate. Stanhope, who had lived much in Popish countries, and who recognised everywhere the necessity of a wider toleration than then existed anywhere—showed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law; as it would of course occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country." Bolingbroke had made no mistake in his calculations as to the strength of the high-churchmen: the third reading of the Schism Bill was carried in the Commons by the great majority of 237 to 126. In the Lords, Bolingbroke fostered his ill-favoured project, by moving the second reading. Lord Wharton, in opposing him, said,—"It is somewhat strange that they should call schism in England what is the established religion in Scotland; and, therefore, if the lords who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain are for the bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us, and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill, to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." Lord Cowper remarked that, in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar schools were chiefly supported by the Dissenters; so that, to put down those schools would be like suppressing the reading of the Holy Scriptures. That member of the church militant, Compton, was quiet at last, under the aisles of his cathedral; but Robinson, his successor,

who had been translated from Bristol, was as intolerant as he. Lord Nottingham, who had gone over to the Whigs, and who entirely overlooked his old affection for the high-church faction in his hatred to Swift, who had lampooned him, and who to all appearance was very likely to be soon a bishop, said vehemently—"My lords, I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is suspected of being hardly a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licences to those who shall be intrusted with the education of youth." All eyes were fixed upon the lord treasurer, who was known to have proposed in the cabinet that the bill should be softened: the Tories seem to have fancied that he would have declared against them in the House; the Whigs, that he would speak and vote with them, even though it must cost him his office. That shuffling minister tried to please both, or, at least, to give to either as little offence as possible. He declared that he had not yet considered the whole bill,—that his mind was not made up; but he persuaded the opposition to allow the second reading without a division; and on the day when the bill was finally put to the vote, he absented himself from the House. This conduct had its usual result: it incensed both parties, and was as favourable to the views of Bolingbroke as anything could be. The Whigs, who could not negative the bill, attempted to soften its severities; but a clause they proposed, to allow the Dissenters to have schools for children of their own persuasion, though for none others, was rejected upon a division. Other modifying clauses, however, were carried, the high-churchmen consenting that the Dissenters should be allowed dames or schoolmistresses of their own persuasions, to teach their children to read; and that the conviction of offending schoolmasters and tutors should take place in the ordinary courts of justice, and not by summary process before a magistrate, as originally proposed. They also allowed a right of appeal to a higher co

and impudently added a clause to exempt from the act any tutor employed in the family of *a nobleman!* The Hanoverian Tories were, after all, unfit and unsympathising allies of the Whigs, whom they could only meet upon one ground, or the common preference of the Guelphs to the Stuarts: their conduct on this occasion proved that, in getting rid of their superstitions about hereditary and divine right, they had not freed themselves from the old concomitants of those superstitions. Not satisfied with the operation of the act in Protestant England, they proposed that it should be extended to Catholic Ireland, and they carried their clause by a majority of six, in spite of the representations of the Duke of Shrewsbury, the lord-lieutenant. The third reading of the bill was carried by 77 to 72—a weak majority, considering that the queen had so recently made twelve new peers to vote with ministers. Perhaps it would have been greater but for the schism between Oxford and Bolingbroke, and some compunctious visitings of the Presbyterian peers of Scotland. Thirty-three lords, of whom five were bishops, entered a strong protest against the whole bill. When the bill, as amended, was sent down to the Commons, General Stanhope proposed that the tutors in the families of members of the House might be put upon the same footing as those who taught in the families of noblemen; but Mr. Hungerford represented that any, the least alteration would cause delays, and might lead to the loss of the valuable bill; and the whole ministerial pack joining the zealots in full cry, the bill was passed as it was, by 168 against 98. It was to come into operation upon the 31st of August; but on that very day Queen Anne died, and, under the opposite principles which rose to the ascendancy in the reign of her successor, it remained practically almost a dead letter, till it was, a few years after, formally repealed.

On the 9th of July Anne closed the session with a speech from the throne. Upon the rising of parliament, Oxford looked around him for some plank to support him. Although he had given the Whigs abundant reason

to despise him, he renewed an underhand intercourse with the chief of that party; and the Duke of Shrewsbury and other leaders seem to have considered that he was still worth securing, or that every possible means was to be adopted to defeat the schemes of the bold and able Bolingbroke. But it was soon evident to the elector's envoy, the keen-sighted Bothmar, that nothing could save Oxford. Several days before the rising of parliament, he assured his court that Bolingbroke would maintain himself; and that the lord treasurer must fall very soon. According to Bothmar, a reconciliation between the rivals was effected; but he saw through its hollowness, and declared that it could not be durable. Lady Masham decided the point. Full of wrath against Oxford, for his having dared to oppose her will and disappoint her of her money, she told this falling minister, and once loving cousin, to his face, that he had never done the queen any service, and was incapable of ever doing her any. Oxford retaliated: "I have been," said he, "abused by lies and misrepresentations; but I will leave some people as low as I found them." This passed in the queen's cabinet, and in her majesty's presence; and the altercation between the titled waiting-woman and the lord treasurer is said to have lasted till two hours after midnight. The end of all was, that Anne demanded his white staff, and Oxford was left low indeed.* The Jacobites, who had been for some time impatiently desiring his disgrace, seem to have taken

* The lord treasurer was wanting to himself; and his habits of procrastinating and treating the most serious business as if it were a joke (a fatal and a disgusting quality in a minister of state) made even some of his best friends indifferent to his fall. "Lord Oxford," said Pope, "was not a very capable minister, and had a good deal of negligence into the bargain. He used to send trifling verses from court to the Scriblerus Club almost every day; and would come and talk idly with them almost every night, even when his all was at stake."—*Spence, Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men.*

credit to themselves for effecting it. The Duke of Berwick says, that it had been intimated to the queen, through Lady Masham, that his removal from office was indispensable. Bolingbroke, of course, rose upon the fall of his rival. This man of intrigue, though he did not grasp the treasurer's staff, became, in fact, everything that he wished, and distributed offices among men who were bound to him, and who were all Jacobites. Nominally, he merely retained the seals of secretary with the sole management of foreign affairs; he put the treasury into commission, with William Wyndham at its head; the privy seal he allotted to Atterbury; Bromley, the other secretary of state, he allowed to remain; the third secretaryship, or that for Scotland, was put into the hands of that desperate half-mad Jacobite, the Earl of Mar; the Duke of Ormond was to be commander-in-chief; the Duke of Buckingham lord president; and Harcourt, as one upon whom he could entirely rely, was to remain lord chancellor. Many minor offices remained to be disposed of, and, in the words of one of the party, "the sterility of good and able men," to be put in these places, was "incredible." The truth is, that, beyond a few personal friends, and a few determined Jacobites, there were none that Bolingbroke could or would trust. Before drawing up his scheme for the new cabinet, he made an attempt upon the principles of some of the old Whig placemen. On the day after Oxford's dismissal, he gave a dinner-party at his house in Golden Square to General Stanhope, Robert Walpole, Pulteney, Craggs, General Cadogan, and other chiefs of the party; but his cajoling overtures came to nothing. At this moment the Duke of Marlborough, who had sent his friend General Cadogan into England before him, was staying at Ostend, watching the game that was playing, with the evident intention of striking in at the decisive round. His real intentions were matters of anxious surmise and speculation to all parties; and such was his personal importance, or the high opinion entertained of his selfish sagacity, that it appears to have been considered as certain that whichever party he embraced and adhered to, must in the

end be the prevalent one.* It seems certain that, notwithstanding an offer the money-loving duke had recently made to lend 20,000*l.*,† to enable the Electoral Prince George to come over to England, to look personally to the interests of his family, the whole court of Hanover looked upon Marlborough and his movements with distrust, fearing to confide in him, and yet fearing to offend him, hopeless of securing him unless he were convinced that their cause would triumph, and bring him more advantages than the other.

Bothmar had not exaggerated in speaking of the queen's dangerous state. On the 30th of July, only three days after the stormy scene at court, and the dis-

* George Lockhart, of Carnwath, the author of the Memoirs, one of the most active and distinguished of the Scottish Jacobites, who was very constant in his attendance about court, says, that there was a report that the Duke of Marlborough had refused the loan of 100,000*l.*, which the Pretender had demanded from him as a proof and a pledge of his fidelity. If this demand was really made, it must have tended very materially to strengthen the lord general's *new* fidelity to the Protestant succession, to whose interests he won over or secured the affection of the British troops at Dunkirk and other places.

† Pope, no incompetent judge, who knew the man well and intimately, says—"As inconsistent as the Duke of Marlborough's character may appear to you, yet may it be accounted for, if you gauge his actions by his reigning passion, which was the love of money. He endeavoured at the same time to be well both at Hanover and at St. Germains: this surprised you a good deal when I first told you of it, but the plain meaning of it was only this—that he wanted to secure the vast riches he had amassed together, whichever should succeed. He was calm in the heat of battle; and when he was so near being taken prisoner, in his first campaign in Flanders, he was quite unmoved. He is like to lose his life in the one and his liberty in the o ; but there was none of his money at stake in either. is mean passion of that great man operated very strong n him in the very beginning of his life, and continued t e very end of it."—*Spence.*

missal of Oxford, she was seized with an apoplectic fit. Ever since that tempestuous night she had been in a deplorable condition; agitated and shattered, and confident, as she told her physicians, that she should never recover; and after the fit she sank into a stupor. There was a display of grief both real and affected; but the funds rose considerably, as soon as it was known in the city that she was dying. The most intelligent part of the nation had become convinced that nothing was so likely to endanger property, and the constitution, as a prolongation of the royal life and of the ministry of the plotting insidious men upon whom she had thrown herself. On the other side, Bolingbroke, Ormond, Harcourt, and the rest of that party, who had been rather named to office than put into possession of it—so rapid was the course of events—were bewildered, and apparently all but stupified at this sudden blow. They met in council at Kensington, in a room not far from that where the queen lay dying; and they were presently thrown into consternation by the arrival of the Dukes of Argyll and Somerset, who said that, understanding her majesty's danger, they had hastened, though not summoned, to offer their assistance. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been for some time playing a very ambiguous part, but who had returned to his old Whig principles, rose up and thanked Argyll and Somerset for their unexpected attendance and the offer of their services. Somerset and Argyll then took their seats at the council-board, insisted on examining the physicians, and upon their report urged that it should be proposed to the queen that the post of lord treasurer should be instantly filled up, as at such a moment it was essential to have a recognised prime minister; and they further insisted that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be at once recommended to her majesty, as the nobleman most fit to manage affairs at that crisis, and to secure the succession as fixed by parliament. Bolingbroke thus saw his grand scheme vanish into thin air, like an unsubstantial palace at the touch of the enchanter; but he said nothing, did nothing, remaining in amaze like one under a spell; and

he followed Shrewsbury and the other lords to the death-bed side, where the recommendation of the council was intimated in a discourse which the sufferer, in all probability, did not understand. A sign or a nod from Anne was, however, interpreted as a sufficient assent, and as a sufficient warrant for a most momentous change—a change which involved the interests of millions. Thus was Shrewsbury, already lord-lieutenant of Ireland and lord chamberlain, made lord treasurer and prime minister, and from this moment the deciding card was in his hand, rather than in that of Marlborough, who, when the critical moment came, found himself detained at Ostend by contrary winds. The Duke of Argyll, a man of action and a man of ability, and who had carried the somewhat incompetent Somerset along with him to Kensington, was the real evil genius before which Bolingbroke stood rebuked; and now, in conjunction with Somerset and the new *Whig* prime minister, Shrewsbury, Argyll moved that every privy counsellor whatsoever, that happened to be in London or in the neighbourhood, should be immediately summoned to attend. The Ex-Chancellor Somers, whose character and influence stood highest, forgot his own infirmities, and hastened to the place where the queen was expiring; and he was accompanied or followed by many other Whigs, who had not seen the interior of the court for a long time. If Bolingbroke and his coadjutors were bewildered before, they were now crushed and ridden over by the Whig party, who, without losing time, ordered four regiments up to London, recalled seven battalions from Dunkirk, laid an embargo on all the sea-ports, sent out orders for the immediate equipment of a good strong fleet, and took other measures to secure the throne to the House of Hanover, and defeat any attempt that might be made by France and the Pretender. Indeed, before the result of the visit of Argyll to the council-chamber was known, the Whigs, principally guided by the active and able General Stanhope, had concerted measures calculated to lead to the same result; and Stanhope had formed a plan for seizing the Tower, and securing in it, at the moment

of trial, the persons of the principal Jacobites. On the day after the appointment of Shrewsbury, while Anne was in a lethargy, and the physicians expecting every moment to be her last, the council sent their orders to the heralds-at-arms, and to a troop of the life-guards, to be in readiness every moment to proclaim the rightful successor George I.; and they hurried off Mr. Craggs to Hanover to hasten the journey of the elector, who was requested to repair to the coast of Holland, where the English fleet would be ready to receive him. Well knowing how hotly the Jacobite fever was raging in many parts of Scotland, they determined that an able general should be sent down to that country to take the command of the troops. All this was decided on the 31st of July, and on the following morning Anne, who had not recovered sufficiently from her stupor either to sign her will or to take the sacrament, expired, in the fiftieth year of her age and thirteenth of her reign. "The Earl of Oxford," says the still bewildered Bolingbroke, in a letter to Swift, "was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!" On the evening of the 1st of August the Duke of Marlborough approached the English coast: near Dover his vessel was boarded by a messenger from Sir Thomas Franklin, the postmaster-general, who told his grace that the queen had died that morning, and that the Elector of Hanover had been joyfully proclaimed. And, in fact, George was proclaimed with acclamations in London, in York, and in the other principal cities, where no Jacobite had courage to raise his voice, or even to show himself in public. In the capital, only one man, and that man a Protestant clergyman of the high-church school, had the courage to propose proclaiming the Pretender. It was Doctor Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

George I.

A.D. 1714.—The Regency Bill, passed in 1705, had provided for the government on the demise of Anne, and the seven great officers of state, together with eighteen peers, named in an instrument signed by the Elector of Hanover, took upon themselves the temporary administration. Of the eighteen peers named by George the greater number were determined Whigs; and Argyll, Cowper, Halifax, Townshend, and Devonshire were among them. Marlborough was not named, nor was his son-in-law, Sunderland: this was not extraordinary, but it excites some surprise to see the illustrious Somers excluded also. The great general, on landing at Dover, received an enthusiastic welcome, and his entry into London was like a triumph. Two hundred gentlemen on horseback met him on the road, and the procession was joined by a long train of horses and carriages. Marlborough went straight to the House of Lords and took the oaths to King George; but then, mortified at his exclusion from the regency, he retired into the country. The lords justices appointed Joseph Addison to be their secretary, and ordered that all despatches addressed to Bolingbroke should be delivered to Addison. In the Scottish capital King George was proclaimed without opposition; but for some days there prevailed great doubt and anxiety as to Ireland; and the lords of the regency, or lords justices, thought at one moment of despatching thither General Stanhope as commander-in-chief, and Marlborough's son-in-la Sunderland, as lord-lieutenant, without losing time waiting for the king's instructions; but they s received intelligence that all was quiet, and that K George had been peaceably proclaimed at Dublin by t Lords Justices of Ireland, the Archbishop of Arma

and Sir Constantine Phipps, whose Toryism had formerly been suspected to be of the Jacobite bias.

Not a moment was lost by the Whigs in England in putting forth claims to the honours and emoluments of office, and in scheming what should be the new cabinet. The bishopric of Ely, and every good thing that happened to be vacant in the church, was asked for, and every place at court, such as the captaincy of the band of gentlemen pensioners, the groomship of the bed-chamber, &c., was grasped at by several competitors. Baron Bothmar was made the medium of these applications to Hanover.

But we may turn from these pettinesses, which were the inevitable consequences of a demise and a new succession, to matters of greater weight, in which the interests of three nations were concerned, and in which they were but too often sacrificed to private ambition and the interests of worthless individuals. According to a very important provision in the Act of Regency, the Houses of Parliament met on the day of the queen's death, though it was a Sunday, and all such members as were in or near town hastened to their seats. The Tories attempted to procure an adjournment till the following Wednesday; but Sir Richard Onslow represented that the state of the nation was too critical to allow of delay; and the Houses met again on Monday. Three days were spent in administering and taking oaths to the new sovereign. In the same breath, and with the same drop of ink, they expressed their deep grief at the death of their late sovereign lady Queen Anne, of blessed memory, and their lively pleasure at the accession of King George, whose right to the crown was so undoubted, and whose virtues were so princely. The most that the Hanoverian agents hoped or expected was, that the House of Commons would grant the king the same civil list enjoyed by the late queen, and that a new parliament would augment it on account of Prince George and his family; but the Tories, either to secure favour at court, or to produce in the beginning an extravagant notion of the avaricious and grasping disposition of the

new sovereign, had the face to propose that the civil list should be raised to 1,000,000*l.* or to 300,000*l.* more than had been granted to Anne; but the Whigs wisely discouraged this very suspicious liberality, and the sum voted was 700,000*l.* A clause was inserted in the bill for the payment of 65,000*l.* due to the Hanoverian troops in the pay of England; but hitherto withheld by the court because those troops had refused to join the Duke of Ormond in 1712 in his base desertion from the allies. A reward of 100,000*l.*, to be paid by the treasury, was offered to any person that should apprehend the Pretender, in case of his landing; and, after the passing of some other money-bills, this short session was closed by prorogation.

All those who wished well to the Protestant succession were impatient for the arrival of the new king, whose delay on the Continent excited universal surprise. Other princes had shown the extreme of eagerness for a far less glittering prize; but the phlegmatic George I. seemed to look almost with indifference to the crown of three great and rising kingdoms; and it was not till six o'clock in the evening of the 18th of September, or nearly seven weeks after the death of Anne, that he landed at Greenwich with his eldest son Prince George. His subjects of Hanover had witnessed his departure with regret and tears—his English subjects received him with joy and acclamations, although on a near view they saw little to admire in his personal appearance or in his bearing, which were plain and undignified.

His majesty presently proceeded to complete his ministerial arrangements: Lord Halifax was appointed first lord commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Cowper, again chancellor; Nottingham, president of the council; Marlborough, commander-in-chief and master-general of the ordnan Wharton (who was made a marquess), lord privy se Orford, first lord of the admiralty; Shrewsbury, l chamberlain and groom of the stole; the Duke of Dev shire, lord steward of the household; the Duke of merset, master of the horse; Sunderland, lord-lieuten

of Ireland; and Robert Walpole, whose ability in debate was worth a high price, paymaster of the forces. In Scotland, the Jacobite Earl of Mar was turned out, and the Duke of Montrose put in his place; and the Duke of Argyll was intrusted with the supreme command of the forces there. In Ireland, Sir Constantine Phipps was deprived of the seals, and Mr. Broderic made chancellor. These ministerial arrangements were all completed before the 20th of October, on which day the coronation was performed at Westminster with the usual solemnities. The old Abbey was thronged with nearly all the peers, whether Whig, Tory, or Jacobite; the indolent *insouciant*-looking Oxford was there, and so was his keen-eyed, animated rival, Bolingbroke. The usual promotions in the peerage followed the ceremony.

On the 29th of August (N.S.) the Pretender, who had gone from Bar-le-duc to drink the mineral waters of Plombière, signed and sent forth a manifesto asserting his right to the throne of Great Britain, and explaining somewhat too clearly the causes of his inactivity up to "the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt: *and this was the reason we then sate still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death.*" This was at once a capital blunder and a glaring proof of the little attention the exiled prince paid to the safety of his friends in England. The Whigs instantly caught at the words as additional and incontrovertible evidence as to the intentions of the late ministry: the Tories insisted that the manifesto was a false document basely forged by the Whigs, to throw discredit upon them and dishonour the late queen; but they were driven from this position by the thick-headed and thick-hearted Pretender, who openly acknowledged the authenticity of the manifesto.

A.D. 1715.—Early in January two royal proclamations were issued—the one dissolving the parliament, the other calling a new one. At the preceding election, only two years before, five-sixths of the successful candidates were Tories, yet at the present election the Whigs were re-

turned in triumphant majority. The new parliament met on the 19th of March, and Mr. Spencer Compton, the ministerial nominee, was chosen Speaker without opposition. A few days after, the king went down in person, but being unable to pronounce English, he gave his written speech to be read by Chancellor Cowper. After thanking all his loving subjects for their zeal in defence of his succession, he lamented that many conditions of the late peace had not been performed; and showed the necessity of defensive alliances, in order to ensure their due execution: he regretted the injuries suffered by trade, and expressed his surprise at finding that the public debt had been increased since the treaty of Utrecht. He alluded frankly to the Pretender, and to his boasting of assistance he expected to derive from England; but, in conclusion, he declared that he would make the constitution, in church and state, the rule of his government, and devote his chief care to the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people. Both Houses joined in expressing their sense of the dishonour of the peace and the delinquency of the late ministers.* The Commons, in their address, said, "It is with just resentment we observe that the Pretender still lives in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures wherein he places his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment."

This was the first public intimation of the intention of the present cabinet to call their predecessors in office to account; and the intention was further avowed in the

* In the Lords there were some very sudden conversions. "I saw," says Bolingbroke, "several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions." The majority which carried the address in the Lords was 66 to 33.

course of debate by General Stanhope. This leader of the Commons—for at first Stanhope, rather than Walpole, was the leader—said, that a report had been industriously spread that it was not intended to bring the late ministers to trial, but only to censure them in general terms; that he could, however, assure the House that, notwithstanding all the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's offices, yet his majesty's present government had sufficient evidence left to prove the former ministry the most corrupt that had ever sat at the helm.

With all his vivacity and rashness, Bolingbroke seems to have had less moral courage than his rival Oxford, whom he had always despised as irresolute and timid. His danger, however, was probably somewhat greater; and he may have apprehended that there was better evidence to convict him on an impeachment than what could be brought against the ex-lord treasurer. But, however this may have been, Oxford remained to face the storm, while Bolingbroke fled from it. On the evening of the 26th of March he appeared publicly at Drury Lane Theatre; and at the close of the performance he bespoke, according to the custom of the time, the play for the next night. But, upon leaving the theatre, he disguised himself as a servant to La Vigne, a French cabinet messenger, set off for Dover, and landed with the Frenchman at Calais. We shall soon find Bolingbroke figuring as secretary of state to the Pretender.

In the meanwhile all the papers that could be found of Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Prior had been seized, and the poet had been recalled from Paris and kept under surveillance. On the 9th of April Stanhope laid these papers, with an immense heap of instructions, memorials, &c., relating to Ormond's withdrawing the troops from the allies, and to the treaty of Utrecht; and, representing that they were too voluminous to be perused by the whole House, he moved that they should be referred to a select committee of twenty-one members. This proposal was adopted without opposition, and a thoroughly Whig committee, called a Committee of Secrecy, was appointed

forthwith. The twenty-one commenced operations that very evening, appointing Robert Walpole their chairman. The task was long and tedious, and, as week after week passed over without any report to the House, Shippen, a decided Jacobite member, insinuated that, notwithstanding the great noise which had been made, the committee of secrecy would not be able to produce any proof of the guilt of the late ministry. But Shippen was silenced by Walpole the chairman, who declared that, so far from this being the case, he wanted words to express the villainy of the late *Frenchified* ministry, as it appeared from the evidence in hand. At last, on the 9th of June, two months after the appointment of the committee, Walpole presented the report to the House, and read it himself. The reading occupied five hours.

The report, ably drawn up, filled the vast majority of the House with rage and indignation, and even called some blushes to the faces of those who had sanctioned the dishonourable treaty of Utrecht, the disgraceful conduct of Ormond, the baser betraying of the Catalans, and the altogether unnecessary gift of Tournay to France: and if on one important point—the traitorous correspondence of Bolingbroke with the French court—the report did not produce such indisputable evidence as has been laid before the world since the prosecution, and in part very recently—there was yet enough to excite and justify the darkest suspicions. When the silence had lasted for some minutes, Mr. Hungerford ventured to say, that in his opinion there was nothing in the report, relating to Lord Bolingbroke, that amounted to the crime of high treason. General Ross also made use of a few timid expressions to the same effect; and this was all that was said in the House of Commons in support of the brilliant but flagitious minister; and the vote for his impeach ment passed without a division. Lord Coningsby the rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committ has impeached the hand, but I do impeach the head; I has impeached the clerk, and I impeach the justice; I has impeached the scholar, and I the master: I impe

Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." More was said for Oxford than had been said for Bolingbroke; yet it amounted to very little; and this resolution of impeachment was also carried without a division. It appears to have been for some time a matter of doubt whether they should impeach the Duke of Ormond, who, in withdrawing the troops from the allies had only obeyed positive orders; and that ministers were provoked to the affirmative by that weak and vain man's bravados. It was, however, not till the 21st of June that Stanhope stood up and impeached Ormond. Luckily for him, his correspondence with the friends of the Pretender was less susceptible of proof than even that of Oxford. Many members, including some that were devoted to the House of Hanover, spoke warmly in his favour; the discussion lasted nine hours and a half, and Stanhope carried his motion by a majority of only 47. On the very next day Mr. Aislabie stood up and impeached the Earl of Strafford, one of the two plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; but the charge was lightened to high crimes and misdemeanors, without the treason. The Duke of Ormond, after listening to a variety of Jacobite projects, which he had not sufficient spirit or talent to execute, followed Bolingbroke's example, fled secretly into France, and joined the Pretender. Ormond never returned, living in exile and dying in it, at the age of fourscore, in the year 1745.

On the 9th of July Lord Coningsby, followed by a great part of the House of Commons, carried up to the bar of the Lords the articles of impeachment against Oxford: they were sixteen in number, but afterwards six were added to them. The first fifteen related to the peace of Utrecht; the sixteenth to the sudden creation of twelve peers, made on purpose to obtain a Tory majority in the House of Lords. After the articles had been read a debate arose as to whether any of them amounted to high treason. As was not unusual on such occasions, it was proposed that the judges should be consulted; but a motion to that effect was negatived by 84

to 52. The next motion was, that Oxford should be committed to the Tower: and Oxford, after being reprieved for a few days, on account of a real or pretended indisposition, was committed to the Tower by the House. Part of the *vivâ voce* evidence, alluded to by the committee of secrecy, was that of Matthew Prior, who, seven days after this, or on the 16th of July, underwent a long examination before the committee. It had been reported that Prior, to secure himself, would make ample revelations, and disclose quite enough to make out a case of treason against Bolingbroke and Oxford; but the poet refused to disclose the secrets with which he had been intrusted, and abhorred the idea of criminating his patrons and employers. To punish this obstinacy, Walpole, in all due form, moved the House for an impeachment against Matthew. Prior, esquire, who had been for some time in the custody of a messenger, and who on the 17th of the same month was ordered into close custody, where no person was to be admitted to see him without an order from the Speaker. In the following year, when an act of grace was passed, the poet, who still lay at the mercy of the House of Commons, was one of the persons excepted out of it. But being discharged soon after, he quietly retired into the country, and spent the remainder of his days at his own villa of Down Hall, or at Wimpole, a seat of the Earl of Oxford, where he died on the 18th of December, 1721. Oxford was left in the Tower, and his opponents continued long to deliberate whether there was sufficient evidence to convict him of high treason, or only enough to prove the point of misdemeanor.

The easy accession of the House of Hanover, after all the plots and plans that had been laid, and all the pledges that had been given to the Pretender, struck the world with astonishment. Efforts, however, were made at a very early period to shake the new throne; and it was the high-church party that first applied their broad shoulders to this work. In their sermons, and still more in their pamphlets, they irritated the populace with suspicions of the king's temper and orthodoxy; they painted his

religion in bad colours, representing that the old tyranny of the Presbyterian government, that the starch days of the Puritans were to be restored; they drew an odious distinction between a native and a foreign prince, and they prophesied that England would be eaten up by Hanoverian rats and other foreign vermin. Presently loud cries were heard throughout the land of "High Church and Ormond for ever!" "Down with the Puritans!" "Down with the Dissenters;" and where the orthodox mob was strongest, they soon proceeded to realise the metaphor, and to knock down the meeting-houses of the Dissenters. In Staffordshire these excesses were greatest; and scarcely a Whig or Dissenter there could escape insult or more serious injury. To stop these excesses, the legislature had recourse to the well-known Riot Act, which was hastily carried through both Houses of Parliament. The ill humour of the people, however, was not to be repressed, and the more they saw of the new king and the new court, the less they liked both. And, indeed, though possessed of some solid qualities which seem to have fitted him for the difficult position in which he was placed, the first George was far from being a very prepossessing or brilliant prince. He was fifty-four years old, had a heavy countenance and a clumsy figure, and was plain in his dress, almost a sloven; he was taciturn and phlegmatic, and yet subject to violent fits of passion. He could neither confer a favour with grace nor refuse one with blandness. In the midst of this personal unpopularity of George and his court, numerous papers in behalf of the Pretender were written, printed, and circulated. One of them, attributed to Mr. Leslie, drew a charming portrait of the Chevalier—he was described as active, tall, and graceful, resembling in his countenance that respectable sovereign Charles II.; and as to his moral qualities, it was affirmed that he was candid, tolerant, and benevolent, just, firm, and altogether a prince of excellent principles. The multitude also recollected as a favourable circumstance, that Charles II., though he had kept a great many, had kept none but very handsome mistresses, who had been

exceedingly lavish of their money. As the popular discontent grew and increased, the Jacobites, and some of the selfish traffickers of state, who had been disappointed in their expectations, began to cabal again, and to renew or commence a correspondence with the Pretender—and foremost among these scoundrels was the *illustrious* Marlborough, who, though commander-in-chief of the British army under George, sent a sum of money to France as a loan to the Chevalier, who was at the moment planning how to kindle the flames of civil war in Scotland.* The disaffected in England, as well as in Scotland, thought they had a tower of strength in Bolingbroke, whose genius was indisputable; and they opened a regular intercourse by letters and messengers with that fugitive. On his first arrival in France Bolingbroke had had a long interview with Lord Stair, who was residing at Paris as a diplomatic agent for King George, and he had solemnly assured that nobleman that he would enter into no plot nor contract any engagement with the Jacobites; but, at the same time, he had privately seen the Duke of Berwick, and pledged himself to assist the Pretender openly whenever a promising opportunity should arise. Lord Stair, however, knew his man; and having his misgivings, he set a person to watch Bolingbroke. About the beginning of July, Bolingbroke repaired to the Pretender's court, which was then at Commercy. "Here," says he, "I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert. . . . . The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present design as infallible. . . . . Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to show, and those who had not yet arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry."† In fact, one of the busiest persons in this strange heterogeneous conclave was a Mrs. Trant, a lady who had more Jacobitism than virtue. With such agents and such a

* Stuart Papers. † Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

rabble rout it was not difficult for Lord Stair to discover most of their secrets. After a suspicious conference with an Irish friar, in which each suspected the other, Bolingbroke dined with M. de Torcy, who, though French minister for foreign affairs, was corresponding with the Pretender, and forwarding his views as much as the policy of his court would permit. Bolingbroke then wrote to his new master to assure his majesty that things were not yet ripe in England, or that at least he could not tell with certainty whether they were so or not. "At present," says Bolingbroke, "the correspondence wants that preciseness and exactness which is indispensably necessary."* But, shortly after, he received from England something more concise and exact in the shape of a memorial drawn up by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Mar, the Duke of Ormond, and other great Jacobite lords, who, though they urged the importance of procuring the assistance of an armed force from the French king, thought that the Pretender might venture without it, provided only he brought with him a train of artillery, arms for twenty thousand men, 500 officers, and a good sum of money. With this memorial in his hand, and with assurances that the plot was a good plot, and would not fail, Bolingbroke again waited on de Torcy and other French ministers, whom he found ready enough to embroil England, but yet fearful of openly committing themselves and of provoking another war, which France was ill able to bear. Bolingbroke was much disconcerted by the constant discovery of some of his secrets, and by the alarm that had begun to spread in England of a design of invasion this summer; but he was apparently still full of hope, when two events occurred to derange everything. The first of these was the flight from England of the Duke of Ormond; the second was the death of Louis XIV., who died at last, and in a very contemptible manner, on the 1st of September. "He was," says Bolingbroke, "the best friend the Chevalier had, and when I engaged in this business my principal depend-

* Stuart Papers.

ence was on his personal character. . . . . My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired." The dissolute Duke of Orleans, who obtained the regency of France in spite of the opposition of Madame de Maintenon, Louis's last mistress and left-handed wife, and of the bastards which that old king had left behind him, was more averse even than Louis to a new war, and had far less consideration for the cause of legitimacy in the abstract, or for the Pretender in person. Orleans had, on the contrary, friends among the present English ministers, who, it should appear, made him offers of money and troops to secure his regency; and he was particularly on a footing of intimacy with the new secretary of state, General Stanhope, whom he had known well in Spain. The Jacobites now hardly knew to whom they could apply without risk of having their propositions and schemes divulged in England. The fugitive Ormond, however, hit upon a scheme that was quite suitable and in character. Mrs. Olivia Trant, the intriguing lady we have mentioned, was very beautiful—the regent the most lascivious of men. Ormond, doing the part of Sir Pandarus of Troy, brought the precious couple together, and Mrs. Olivia became, for a time, the mistress of the regent of France. But the Duke of Orleans was too thoroughly a man of the world to disclose his state secrets to his mistresses, and he changed them too often, and kept too many at a time, to allow any one lady to acquire any great influence over him; so that Ormond's scheme and Mrs. Trant's prostitution were little better than thrown away.

Bolingbroke had been all along of opinion that the Scottish Jacobites could do little or nothing without the co-operation of the English, and that they ought to be kept quiet till the insurrection was fully organised south of the Tweed. He despatched a trusty messenger to Lord Mar; but when that messenger arrived in London, he learned from Erasmus Lewis, a very active member of the conspiracy, that Mar had already gone to the Highlands to raise the standard of the Stuarts. This seemed a strange want of judgment and of concert: but

the fact, as stated by the Duke of Berwick, the party most likely to know the truth and least disposed to speak ill of his half-brother, the Pretender, was, that that personage, unknown to Bolingbroke, who fondly believed that nothing was or would be done without his advice, had sent orders to Mar to begin the insurrection at once in Scotland. "The Earl of Mar," says Berwick, "who had been secretary of state for Scotland in the time of Queen Anne, and had been removed from that post by George, received, in the month of September, a secret order from *the king*, to go immediately into Scotland and take up arms. Neither Bolingbroke nor I knew anything of this, although we were his principal ministers." Mar had set out by sea from London, and taken with him Lieutenant-General Hamilton, who had served with distinction in Holland and Flanders, and who had been second to the Duke of Hamilton in his unfortunate duel, one Colonel Hay, another good officer, and two servants. At Invercauld, where he stayed about eight days, Mar held conferences and concerted something like a plan for future operations; and then he went to Aboyne, where he met Lord Huntly, Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Southesk, Glengarry, and others, and received messages from the Earl of Breadalbane and General Gordon. Mar pressed for an immediate rising, and the rest were absurd enough to follow his advice: and on the 6th of September (o. s.) Mar, who had collected an insignificant force, not exceeding 500 men, erected the standard of the Stuart at Brae Mar. On the 9th he issued a declaration, calling upon the people to take arms, and assuming the title of lieutenant-general to King James.* But, thanks to the vigilance of Lord Stair and the manifold imprudences of the conspirators at home and abroad, the government was not taken by surprise. By an act of parliament just passed, the king was empowered to summon all the chiefs of the clans to Edinburgh by a certain day. The order had been

* MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn, as cited by Lord John Russell, Hist. Europe from Peace of Utrecht.

sent down, and, though many of the Highland chiefs hesitated and eventually joined Mar, others repaired quietly to the capital, where an attempt by the insurgents to surprise the castle failed completely, because the persons employed neglected their business and sat drinking whisky in a public-house till it was too late. As soon as the government received intelligence that Mar was up in the Highlands, other orders were despatched to Edinburgh for apprehending suspected persons; and the Earls of Hume, Wigtoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and Mr. Hume of Whitfield, were soon laid fast in Edinburgh castle. Major-General Whetham was ordered to march with all the regular troops that could be spared to Stirling, where he was to occupy positions so as to secure the bridge and the passages of the Forth. The Duke of Argyll went down as commander-in-chief, and the Earl of Sutherland hastened to his part of the Highlands to raise his clans for the service of the House of Hanover.

But at this moment the attention of the government was distracted and its anxiety greatly increased by the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy in England, and by intelligence that the Duke of Ormond was expected on the coast of Devonshire to head a formidable insurrection. Ormond, it appears, was betrayed by one of his most active agents, by a certain Maclean, whom Bolingbroke sets down as a villain.* Forthwith the titular Duke of Powis, a Roman Catholic, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Duplin were arrested, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the Earl of Jersey. At the same time a royal message was sent down to the Commons, informing them that his majesty, having just cause to suspect that Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, senior, Mr. Thomas Forster, junior, Mr. John Anstice, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, were engaged in a design to support the invasion of the kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them. The messen-

* Extracts from the Stuart Papers, in Appendix to Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng. from Peace of Utrecht.

gers sent to apprehend Sir William Wyndham at his house in Somersetshire, not far from the place where Ormond had appointed to land, found him in bed: upon the baronet's coming out in his dressing-gown he was arrested, but, craving permission to return and take leave of his lady, he escaped by a secret door. Some important papers, however, were secured, and a few days after Wyndham, finding it impossible to escape, repaired to the house of his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, and surrendered himself. The duke offered to be his bail, but his offer was refused, and, for the violence of his language, and probably for other reasons, his grace was deprived of his high court office of master of the horse. Sir John Packington was taken, examined, and then discharged. Mr. Hervey and Mr. Anstice were secured in prison; but Mr. Forster rose in rebellion in Northumberland, and Mr. Kynaston made his escape. Troops were hurried down to the west, Bristol was secured by the Earl of Berkeley, the lord-lieutenant of the county, who discovered and seized there several cases of fire-arms and about 200 horses prepared for the use of the insurgents. Exeter was looked to, and Plymouth well guarded; and Sir Richard Vivian, a stirring Cornish gentleman, was sent up to London in the custody of a king's messenger. Other west-country gentlemen were either watched or made fast; and this occurred also in other parts of the kingdom, where the lately insulted Dissenters were active in making discoveries and directing the vengeance of government.

The Catholics in the north of England were more hardy and far more difficult to deal with. The Mr. Forster, junior, who had escaped from the warrant, began the movement in Northumberland, his native county; and he was soon joined by the young and gallant Earl of Derwentwater, who was descended from an illegitimate daughter of Charles II., and who had been also marked out for arrest. Both Forster and Derwentwater had intended to take up arms, but not so soon. As, however, the king's messengers were hunting for them, they thought there was nothing left for them to do but to fight

for it, and they met at the small town of Rothbury, with a joint force not exceeding sixty horse. But proceeding to Warkworth they were joined by Lord Widdrington, another Catholic peer, with about thirty more horse. Forster was appointed general of this army of ninety men, and, in disguise, he proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, with sound of trumpet.* From Warkworth the insurgents marched by Alnwick to Morpeth, which they entered with about 300 horse.

By this time these North of England insurgents had opened a correspondence with the Earl of Mar, who remained undecided and inactive on the skirts of the Highlands, and with Lord Kenmure, who had undertaken to head another insurrection in the south-west of Scotland, and who, on the 12th of October, proclaimed the Pretender at Moffat. Forster and Derwentwater had also their friends in Newcastle, and they seemed to have expected an easy capture of that important city; but they were cruelly disappointed; and Forster moved off to Hexham, to wait for reinforcements from the disaffected parts of Lancashire and from Lord Mar, who had promised to send some Scottish foot towards the borders. It appears that the Papists from Lancashire and Cheshire were not very alert in taking the field; but the insurrection continued to grow in the south-west of Scotland, where Kenmure was joined by the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, and by other Jacobites of name and influence. Kenmure having failed in an attempt to surprise Dumfries, resolved to unite his *army*—it amounted to some two hundred horsemen—with that of Mr. Forster, and, passing through Jedburgh, he crossed the borders and effected the junction near Rothbury. The united force, which is differently rated at from 600 to 800 horse, then faced about, crossed the Tweed, and entered the pleasant little town of Kelso, whither Mar

* Forster was put at the head of the affair, not because he had any military experience or genius, but simply because he was a Protestant, the insurgents thinking it unwise to excite popular animosity by putting an avowed Papist at their head.

had bargained to send Brigadier Mackintosh with two thousand foot. That rash earl, being joined by a considerable force under the Marquess of Tullibardine, was, some weeks before this, at the head of 6000 or 7000 men, nearly all foot, for he had scarcely more than three or four squadrons of horse. This infantry consisted solely of Highlanders, active, indefatigable, and as brave as steel; but sadly deficient in discipline, in arms, and even in gunpowder. As for the squadrons of horse, they were composed of Jacobite gentlemen and their dependents from Perth, Fife, and Angus, of men that were as ignorant of war as they were blind or short-sighted in their politics—and every laird among them considered himself entitled to dictate and command. On the other side, however, the Duke of Argyll and General Whetham could at first scarcely muster 2000 men—the whole regular force in Great Britain at the moment fell short of 8000—and if Mar had at once led his Highlanders to battle, victory could scarcely have been doubtful. But Mar was an incompetent commander, and, we apprehend, deficient in courage. According to the Duke of Berwick, who would have made the struggle a far more serious one if he himself had had the command, "A man may have a great deal of understanding, a great deal of personal bravery, and be a very able minister, without having the talents requisite for an enterprise of this nature. It is certain that Mar had them not; and we must not therefore wonder that he did not succeed. After he had drawn the sword, he did not know in what manner to proceed, and by that means missed the most favourable opportunity that had presented itself since the Revolution in 1688."* But it should appear that by this time the Pretender had become suspicious and jealous of his able half-brother; and that, having never trusted him fully and frankly, he was now disposed wholly to withdraw his confidence and friendship from him. At last, when the Covenanters in the low country had had good time to recover their spirits and sharpen their broadswords, Mar

* Memoirs.

began to do something: he detached General Gordon to seize the Duke of Argyll's town and castle of Inverary, to check and chastise the Campbells, and then turn upon the English force from the west; and he threw two thousand men across the Forth, as promised, under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh, of Borlum, a veteran distinguished by bravery, zeal, and military talent. Mackintosh's passage of the Frith of Forth, almost under the guns of three English men-of-war, was the brilliant episode of this campaign. Edinburgh, unprovided with troops, was thrown into consternation; and, though Mackintosh had no orders to attack it, he was tempted by what he heard and saw, and, instead of pushing southward for Kelso, where Forster and Derwentwater expected him, he marched straight to Edinburgh, and occupied an eminence called Jock's Lodge, within a mile of that city. But he had stopped a night at Haddington to refresh his men; and Sir George Warrender, the provost of Edinburgh, a zealous Whig, and a man of courage and ability, had made good use of the time allowed him in barricading the gates, in arming the citizens, and in sending to the Duke of Argyll for succour. And Argyll, leaving a part of his force to watch the bridge at Stirling, was in full march with the rest upon the capital, and arrived there almost as soon as Mackintosh reached Jock's Lodge. The Jacobite brigadier therefore turned aside to Leith, and took up his quarters in a citadel which had been built in Oliver Cromwell's time, but had been since allowed to fall to ruin. On the following morning the Duke of Argyll appeared before the citadel with 1200 men, consisting of regular troops, the city guard, and volunteers from Edinburgh; and he summoned the Jacobites to surrender, threatening them with a refusal of quarter if they should oblige him to take the place by assault. A fiery Highland laird—the Laird of Kinnachin—answered this summons by a bold defiance. Surrender, he said, was a word they did not understand—quarter they were determined neither to take nor to give—and, as for an assault, if his grace were ready for that, they

were no less prepared to receive him. Argyll marched back to Edinburgh to obtain some artillery; and Mackintosh, instead of taking that capital, was fain to steal out of the citadel of Leith under cover of night, and to direct his march, as originally intended, upon Kelso. He entered Musselburgh before midnight, and early on the following morning—Sunday, the 16th of October—he arrived at Seaton Place, the seat of the Catholic and Jacobite Earl of Winton. Here, however, he was only seven or eight miles from Edinburgh, and, fearing that Argyll would give pursuit, he examined the house and grounds, and fixed upon a strong garden wall as a covering for his men. In the meanwhile Mar had been informed of Mackintosh's movements, and, in order to prevent the pursuit in that direction, he advanced towards Stirling. General Whetham, who remained there with a very inferior force, was presently alarmed by the shrill sound of bagpipes and the appearance of loose columns of Highlanders; and he despatched a messenger with breathless speed to entreat Argyll to return to Stirling as soon as possible. This messenger, late on Sunday night, found Argyll preparing to attack Mackintosh at Seaton House on the following morning; but it was far more essential to prevent the rout of Whetham, and the approach upon Edinburgh of Mar, than to crush Mackintosh; and the duke quitted the capital between night and morning, and, with the whole force he had brought thence and a considerable number of volunteers, made a forced march back to Stirling. If Mar had been a Montrose or a Dundee he would have annihilated Whetham some hours before Argyll could come up; and with troops elated with victory he would have met the duke on his march, defeated him, and then taken possession of the capital. But, though this course was pointed out to him, Mar stayed deliberating and seesawing at Dumblane, six miles from the English camp, till Argyll arrived at it; and then he called in his advanced divisions, wheeled round, and retreated upon Perth without striking a blow. For nearly a month Mar lay at Perth, and Argyll at Stirling. In the mean-

while Mackintosh, after staying two days at Seaton House, marched across the hills of Lammermuir, and by the 22nd of October reached Kelso, where he found Lord Kenmure, Forster, and Lord Derwentwater. The insurgent force, Scotch and English, thus united, exceeded 2000 men. But they no sooner joined than they began to quarrel, the Scots proposing one plan of operation, the English another; and, while they were making a useless promenade along the Cheviot hills, General Carpenter, who had been sent to the north by Stanhope with 900 horse, got close in their rear, and watched their senseless proceedings. Mackintosh, who was not to blame for these blunders, halted at Langholm, and, seeing no hope of carrying the town of Dumfries, a project warmly recommended by the Scots, he was induced by the English insurgents to march southward and invade Lancashire, where they assured him of the co-operation of the numerous Roman Catholic gentry. Upon this decision 500 Scots, refusing to cross the borders, abandoned Mackintosh, and returned, some to the camp of the Earl of Mar, and some to their own houses in the mountains. By the 2nd of November, Mackintosh and Forster, with those who had chosen to follow them, were at Penryth in Westmoreland, where the *posse comitatus* had been called out to oppose them by the Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Lonsdale. But from eight to ten thousand unwarlike rustics fled in a panic before the insurgents, leaving a great many of their horses and rude weapons behind them. From Penryth the insurgents marched by Appleby and Kendal to Kirby Lonsdale, proclaiming the Pretender as they went, and seizing all the public money they could find. They were, however, disappointed at not being joined by the Catholic gentry of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The government had arrested the most considerable of these, and they were now fast in Carlisle Castle. But at Kirby Lonsdale a considerable number of the Roman Catholic gentry of Lancashire, with whom Forster had been corresponding, came up and enrolled themselves. They then pushed forward for Lancaster,

which abounded with Papists. The notorious Colonel Charteris commanded in the town for King George: he proposed stopping the march of the rebels by blowing up the bridge over the Loyne, but the inhabitants prevented this, forced the colonel to retire, and then opened their streets and spread their tables for the insurgents. From Lancaster they advanced to Preston, a town equally Jacobitish and Catholic, from which Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and a body of militia thought it prudent to retire. At Preston nearly all the Roman Catholic gentry of the districts joined, with their servants and tenantry; and Forster began to assume the airs of a conqueror, in spite of the misgivings of the veteran Mackintosh, who knew the value of such an undisciplined rabble.

In the mean time General Carpenter, leaving the range of the Cheviots behind him, had turned back into Northumberland, and by forced marches had reached the city of Durham, where he combined with General Wills, another distinguished officer, who had been sent down to the north-west some time before to quell the many riots and disorders that were the prelude to this insurrection. Wills presently concentrated six regiments of cavalry, for the most part newly raised, but commanded by experienced officers, at Manchester, whence he moved to Wigan. There it was arranged that Wills should march straight upon Preston, while Carpenter, advancing in another direction, should take the insurgents in flank. As the Royalists approached, Mr. Forster, or General Forster as he was called, gave very satisfactory proof that he was no soldier: he fell into a fright and confusion, and betook himself to his bed. But Lord Kenmuir roused him, and in a hurried council, where all the gentlemen had a voice, and where those spoke loudest who knew least of war, a plan of defending Preston was adopted. But this plan, at least as executed, consisted merely in erecting a few barricades in the streets of the town, and in posting the men in the centre of it. Brigadier Mackintosh either knew not the ground, or his better judgment must have been overruled; for Preston offered

many advantages as a defensive position, which were all entirely neglected. In the front of the town there was a bridge over the Ribble that might have been held by a handful of men; and from the bridge up to the town the road, for the distance of about half a mile, ran in a hollow between two high and steep banks. But river, bridge, and road were all left open to the assailants. When Wills rode up to the bridge and saw that it was not protected by so much as a musket, and that the road beyond it was unoccupied, he could scarcely believe his own eyes; and then he concluded that the insurgents must have abandoned Preston and begun their retreat to Scotland, so that there would be no fighting that day. But as he came up to the outskirts of the town he heard a tumultuous noise within, and saw the barricades which Forster had ordered to be thrown up; and he was soon saluted by a shower of musket-balls. He ordered his dragoons to dismount and attack two of the barricades. This service was gallantly performed: but the regulars were sorely galled by a fire from the houses as well as from behind the barricades; and as night began to fall Wills withdrew them, after they had suffered considerable loss. Early on the following morning General Carpenter came up with a part of his cavalry; and then Forster, who had scarcely lost a man, and whose force more than doubled that of all the regular troops, lost heart entirely, and, without consulting his friends, sent Colonel Oxburgh to propose a capitulation. General Wills, irritated by the loss he had sustained on the preceding evening, seemed at first disposed to reject the proposition altogether; but at last he agreed "that if the rebels would lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion, he would protect them from being cut to pieces by the soldiers until further orders from the government." When Oxburgh's mission was known in the town, and the result of it, the more warlike portion of the insurgents were indignant and furious against the coward Forster, who, according to an eye-witness, would, if he had ventured out into the streets, have been slain though he had had a hundred lives. The brave Highlanders, seeing that

nothing was to be expected from the Lancashire boors that had joined them, proposed rushing out sword in hand, and cutting their way through the king's troops; but this would have now been a most desperate enterprise, and many of their chiefs thought it better to surrender. They gave up Lord Derwentwater and Colonel Mackintosh as hostages, and induced the clans to lay down their arms and submit. Including English and Scotch, only seventeen men had been killed in the defence of Preston: the Lancashire peasants and others got out of town or escaped recognition; but fourteen hundred men were made prisoners by a thousand, or at most twelve hundred, English horse. The most distinguished of these captives were Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Winton, Carnwath, Kenmuir, Nairn, and Charles Murray; and members of the ancient northern families of Ord, Beaumont, Thornton, Clavering, Patten, Gascoigne, Standish, Swinburn, and Shafto.

Thus ingloriously ended the insurrection in England. On the very same day the banner of the Pretender was struck to the dust in Scotland. On the 10th of November Mar seemed to awaken from his long slumber, and, moving from Perth, he was joined by General Gordon, who had been very unsuccessful in his expedition into Argyleshire, but who brought, in addition to the forces he had carried with him, some reinforcements from the Western Highlands. When Mar counted his forces after this junction he found that they amounted to some ten thousand men, including about fifteen hundred foot, and two squadrons of horse that had been brought up by Lord Huntley. But of this force a considerable number had no proper arms; and the whole of the cavalry, whether composed of Lowland lairds or of Highlanders, was contemptible, and an object of ridicule even with their associates. In the interval the Duke of Argyll had received reinforcements of a very superior quality—veteran troops from Ireland. Mar, however, having begun, continued his advance, and on the 12th of November he halted at Ardoch, about ten miles from Argyll's position at Stirling. Argyll, upon learning his approach, boldly

quitted the passes of the Forth, where his cavalry could not act, crossed the river, advanced to and occupied Dumblane, and resolved to give battle in the plain, though in so doing he must have the disadvantage of fighting with a river in his rear. He rode over an open moor, which, from having been the place of meeting and exercise for the militia of the sheriffdom of Monteith, was called the Sheriffmuir. The ground, though somewhat rough, admitted of cavalry evolutions and charges of horse, of which, much more than of any other arm, the wild Highlanders stood in dread; and therefore he resolved to make that place his battle-field. Mar did not keep him long waiting, though it appears somewhat doubtful whether that timid and unskilful general was either confident of success or disposed to fight at all. Upon coming in sight of Argyll's columns he called a council of war, and spoke of retreat; but the Highlanders cried out, with one voice, "Fight! fight!" Then, without heeding the warning voice of Huntly, orders were given to form the field. "We were no sooner got to our posts," says one of the Highlanders, "than a huzza began, with tossing up of hats and bonnets, and it ran through our whole army, on the hearing we had resolved to fight. No man who had a drop of Scots blood in him but must have been elevated to see the cheerfulness of his countrymen on that occasion."* The infantry formed in admirable order, for at that work the Highlanders were peculiarly apt and quick. "I never," says General Wightman, "saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment." But the horse was all wrong; three squadrons mistook the left for the right, abandoned an important position with which they had been intrusted, and begun a confusion even before a shot was fired. The right of the insurgents was commanded by the Earl of Mar and Lord Drummond; the left by Gordon and Huntly: and General Hamilton, the best tactician on that side, acted as chief of the staff, and kept an eye on the whole line. Argyll had not more than 3500 men;

* Sinclair MS., and Notes by Sir Walter Scott.

but this number included three good cavalry regiments. The duke commanded the right, General Whetham the left, and General Wightman the centre. The battle began on Sunday morning, the 13th of November, with an attempt made by the Highlanders to outflank the king's troops, and by a tremendous fire opened by the Highlanders on the Duke of Argyll and his right wing. The duke suffered severely; but his tried soldiers kept their ground, extended their lines, and leant upon a morass. Upon examining this swamp, which was usually impassable, Argyll perceived that it was frozen over by the last night's frost; and he instantly threw Major Cathcart and a squadron of horse across it; and, while Cathcart took the Highlanders in flank, the duke, leading the attack in person, charged them full in front with the rest of his cavalry. After a desperate resistance the clans thus assailed gave way; but there was no running, and not much disorder; for they retreated slowly with their faces to the enemy, and in the short distance of two miles they attempted ten times to rally. But at length, when the battle had raged nearly three hours, the Highlanders were driven beyond the river Allan, in whose waters not a few of them perished. But while Argyll had been gaining these advantages his left wing had been signally defeated by the right of the insurgents, who rushed upon the English infantry before they were well formed. This headlong ardour of the Highlanders was somewhat cooled by an English bullet which mortally wounded their chief, Clan Ronald, a brave veteran who had served abroad under the Duke of Berwick, and who was famed at home for his hospitality and feudal state: but Glengarry, who had carried the royal standard at Killicrankie, throwing his bonnet into the air, cried out, in Gaelic, "Revenge to-day, and mourning to-morrow;" and then the Highlanders rushed forward to the muzzles of the English muskets, pushed aside their bayonets with their light targets, fell upon the infantry with their broadswords, and drove them from the field; and in a very few minutes the whole of Argyll's left wing was broken and routed, General Whetham galloping from the field in such a

panic as never to draw rein till he got to Stirling. Argyll was away with the right; but General Wightman kept the centre in tolerable order, though even there some troops turned their faces towards Stirling, and ran after Whetham. If the insurgent horse had charged this wavering centre at the proper moment, it must have been broken; but the insurgent horse, as we have hinted, was worth nothing, the opportunity was lost, and General Wightman moved away to the right with three regiments of foot, and then followed in the footsteps of Argyll, who halted on the bank of the Allan, ignorant of the fate of his left wing. The duke, however, was soon informed of the flight of Whetham, and then he wheeled round and joined Wightman and the three regiments as they were advancing to meet him. In the mean time the Earl of Mar, equally ignorant of the discomfiture and rout of his left wing, had pushed after Whetham as far as Corntoun; but there he was brought to a halt by intelligence that his left was in full retreat, and that Argyll was following them to the Allan. He had thereupon marched back to Sheriffmuir and taken up his position on an eminence which offered several advantages both offensive and defensive. Mar was on that eminence when Argyll with his tired troops began to wind round it in the design of getting to Dumblane. Argyll and Wightman saw the danger they were in, and, fully expecting an attack down hill, they drew up their men behind some inclosures, and put two pieces of cannon in their front. "If," says Wightman, "they had either had courage or conduct, they might have entirely destroyed my body of foot." "If," says Scott, "they had but thrown down stones they might have disordered Argyll's troops." But Mar, it appears, had had fighting enough: he neglected all his advantages, stood at gaze, and when Argyll began to move again round the foot of the hill, he descended from it in the opposite direction. One of the Highland chiefs—Gordon of Glenbucket—exclaimed, "Oh! for an hour of Viscount Dundee!"

Mar fell back upon Ardoch; and Argyll, scarcely believing his own good fortune and his adversary's cow-

ardice or stupidity, went quietly on to Dumblane, where he fixed his quarters for the night. The insurgents are said to have lost in this strange battle of Sheriffmuir 700 in killed, including the young Earl of Strathmore, and other men of rank, and 200 in prisoners, among whom was Lord Strathallan. The Earl of Panmuir and other noblemen had been taken also, but had been liberated in the affray. The loss of the king's army is stated at 400 in killed and wounded, and nearly 200 in prisoners, the Earl of Forfar and Colonel Lawrence being among the latter. On the following morning Argyll kept possession of the field of battle, and showed as his trophies four pieces of artillery, thirteen stand of colours, two standards, and the royal standard of the Stuarts, called "The Restoration." But he was in no condition to follow up the insurgents, who had also their trophies to show; he withdrew to Stirling; the Earl of Mar to Perth—the points from which they had respectively moved to fight the battle.

In France the most wonderful reports had been spread of the success of the insurrection both in Scotland and in England; and it was some time before men could believe in the catastrophe of Preston, and the serious check at Sheriffmuir. Nearly every possible effort had been made to induce the Regent Orleans to espouse the cause of the Pretender, and to assist him openly with troops; and more than once these efforts, being no doubt seconded by false or most exaggerated accounts of success from England, seemed to have some effect on that dissolute and ease-loving prince. He was constantly beset by the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Berwick, the fair Mrs. Trant, and the eloquent, earnest, and persuasive Bolingbroke, who had far more influence over him than all the rest. But not even my Lord Bolingbroke could convert defeat into victory, or convince Orleans that the Jacobites had a chance of success either in Scotland or England.*

* It is quite evident that the regent acted according to circumstances, and that a little good success, as Bolingbroke

It appears that, having got to the coast, and made so much stir, the Pretender was ashamed to return to Lorraine without doing something; and that the representations of Bolingbroke and Berwick, and his anxiety to relieve himself from the imputation of cowardice, determined him to embark. He could no longer doubt the affair at Preston and the battle of Sheriffmuir; but the Scottish Jacobites continued to call for his presence, and the Earl of Mar represented that he had grown stronger since his battle with Argyll—that his army was increased to 16,000 fighting men. Therefore, after lying some time concealed at St. Malo, the Chevalier resolved to embark for Scotland. At Dunkirk, attended by only six gentlemen, who were disguised like himself as French naval officers, he embarked immediately in a small vessel carrying eight guns, and, setting sail on a cloudy day in the middle of December, made for the little port of Peterhead, where he landed on the 22nd of that month. The vessel which bore him was instantly sent back to France with letters to Bolingbroke and others.* From Peterhead he proceeded in disguise through Aberdeen to Fetteresso, the seat of his partisan the Earl Marshal. Here he was soon joined by Lord Mar, General Hamilton, and some thirty other Jacobites, who scoured across the country from Perth, leaving the army behind them. As a reward for his services, the Chevalier, who was very fond of such exercises of royalty, forthwith created Mar a duke. He lay for some days at

says, would have inclined him the right way—*i. e.*, to support the Pretender openly, and with all his might. It is equally certain that the regent was at no time sincere and earnest in stopping the Chevalier: probably he would not have been sorry to be free of all the expense and trouble which the Pretender cost France. If he had been determined to intercept him he might surely have done so, as nearly two months elapsed between the Pretender's departure out of Lorraine and his sailing for Scotland; during which time the secret of his whereabouts was known to hundreds.

* Stuart Papers.

Fetteresso, doing nothing but giving and receiving compliments: it was reported that he was ill of an ague; but it appears that the cold fit was occasioned by his dread of Argyll, and his doubts as to the movements of the regular troops of King George. At length, on the 30th of December, he began to stir; on the 2nd of January he was at Kinnaird, whence he wrote to Bolingbroke, to tell him among other things how he was obliged to send back to France one of his only two experienced officers, "on account of the disgust the Highlanders had got of him, which was altogether inexplicable." On the 4th he slept at Glamis Castle, the ancient and magnificent seat of the Earl of Strathmore; and on the 6th he made his public entry into Dundee on horseback, with Mar riding on his right hand, the Earl Marshal on his left, and with 300 Jacobite lords and gentlemen behind him. He remained for an hour in the public market-place to allow the people to kiss his hand. On the 8th, he arrived at the royal palace of Scone, near Perth, and the head-quarters of his army, and there he formed a council and began to issue manifestos and proclamations. It was noted that only two Presbyterian ministers in all Scotland consented to pray for the Pretender; and that only two Episcopal ministers prayed for King George.* In fact, the Episcopalians, who had this excuse, that they were in Scotland the persecuted body, hurried to prostrate themselves at the feet of the Pretender with vows of their own fidelity and affection, and with prayers for his success. Yet was the Pretender a bigoted Catholic. In fact, he loathed all Protestant churches like his father James, and like his grandfather Charles I. he had adopted as a system the practising of equivocations, half promises, and mental reservations. His prime adviser, Bolingbroke, had told him that his declarations ought to be plain and frank, but he had not been able to correct that bent of mind which was part natural and part the effect of a Jesuitical education. Moreover, apart from spirituals, he was obstinate and self-willed, and yet awkward,

* Patten.

bashful, and timid. It was in vain that Mar sent out a circular letter to raise the affections of the people by describing the Pretender as the finest gentleman he ever knew, and the most amiable:* people, on a nearer approach judged for themselves. "We found ourselves," says one of the rebels, "not at all animated by his presence, and, if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us: our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him; I am sure the figure he made dejected us."† There was, in fact, a double disappointment—a universal dejection. Instead of 16,000 men in arms that Mar had talked about, the Pretender found not above 5000 or 6000, and those ill armed, and in no very good humour; and, instead of a well-appointed French army, and that abundance of arms, accoutrements, and money which the Scots had expected with the Stuart, they saw that he had scarcely brought anything more than the clothes upon his back. The government meanwhile had been gaining strength, and employing negotiations both at home and abroad; so that several of the great Highland chiefs had listened to, or already concluded bargains advantageous to themselves, but fatal to the Jacobite cause. The devotion of the clansmen was rather to their respective chiefs than to the Stuarts: at the bidding of the chief they were equally ready to fight against or for the Pretender; and this, too, without any sense of shame, even if the chieftain shifted and changed as fast as the wind. Thus Simon Fraser, now Lord Lovat, and chief of his clan, who in his mad youth had carried off the clansmen with bag-pipes playing, to join Dundee and fight for the Pretender's father, having made his bargain with that powerful Whig chief the Earl of

* Patten.

† True Account of the Proceedings at Perth.

Sutherland, carried off all his clansmen to make war upon Sir John Mackenzie, who held the important town and position of Inverness for the Pretender, but who was soon compelled to abandon it to Lovat. And as soon as the rest of the Frasers, who had followed a younger branch of the family to Mar's standard, learned that Lovat, the great head, had gone over to the opposite interest, they threw away their white cockades, and went in a body to the royal army. Horace Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert, had been despatched to the Hague to claim 6000 men from the Dutch, in virtue of an article in the Guarantee Treaty; and 5000 regular troops had been brought over from that country and sent down to Argyll. The Parliament had now really set a price upon his head, by offering a reward of 100,000*l.* to any one that should seize the Pretender dead or alive. All half-pay officers had been recalled to active service, and twenty-one regiments were raised, or begun to be raised, in different parts of England. Money, arms, ammunition, and abundant supplies of provisions—all that was wanting on the other side—were put at the disposal of the Duke of Argyll. The Pretender declared that he should not be able to hold his ground beyond the spring of the year; but Argyll did not wait for the melting of the snow, and he found himself obliged to fly even sooner than he had expected. On the 16th of January, with a countenance more dejected than ever, he held a council at Perth, and spoke like a doomed man. "For me," said he "it will be no new thing to be unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has been a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours." A number of things were determined upon in a hurry. Perth, for example, was to be fortified, and the advance of the Duke of Argyll was to be impeded by burning and destroying all the towns and villages between Perth and Stirling, with the corn, forage, and whatsoever else might be found in the country. A proclamation to this effect was signed by the Pretender, and a scene of horror ensued: Auchter-

arder, Blackford, and a number of small villages were burnt to the ground, and the poor inhabitants, women and children, the aged and the infirm—the able-bodied men had been forced from their homes, either into the rebellion or into the royal army—were exposed, houseless, to the extremities of the season, in one of the coldest winters that had been known for many generations. The poor sufferers, deprived of everything else, as well as of their cots or huts, perished in many places of cold and hunger; and mothers with their infants at the breast were found dead among the snow-heaps.

General Cadogan was sent down to quicken the Duke of Argyll. Then a small train of artillery was brought up from Berwick-upon-Tweed, provisions and forage were procured, and put upon light waggons, and Colonel Guest was detached from Stirling with two hundred dragoons to reconnoitre the roads leading to Perth, in order to begin the march of the royal army, who, be it observed, had not been accustomed even under the great Marlborough, and in climates less severe, to make campaigns in winter. The snow was very deep, and there happened a fresh and heavy fall; and, beyond a certain point, there were narrow and deep defiles completely blocked up with snow, and not a roof, not a bit of thatch, not a naked tree to give shelter to the troops. Nevertheless, on the 24th of January, the Duke of Argyll and General Cadogan advanced in person to survey the roads leading to Perth, and to direct the labours of the soldiers and peasants employed in clearing the roads from snow. The rebel Highlanders, advancing from Perth and from a few little garrisons they held on the borders of Fife, skirmished to interrupt these operations, which could only go on under cover of muskets, and which were slow and tedious in themselves. But on the 29th a considerable advance was made, and a detachment of the Royalists, with two pieces of cannon, got to the castle of Braco, which was immediately abandoned by the rebels. On the 30th the army advanced and lay all night in the open air on the snow, all but a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot, which had driven the Highlanders out of

Tullibardine. On the following morning the main body crossed the river Earn without opposition, and advanced to Tullibardine, which was only eight miles from Perth. That little city and the temporary court there had been a scene of confusion, despondency, and riot ever since the 24th. But on the 30th the near approach of Argyll and Cadogan made some resolution necessary; and on that day, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., the Pretender got ready to quit Perth and his ancient kingdom of Scotland, in which he had been just five weeks. And on Tuesday, the last day of January, as Argyll with his main body was advancing from Tullibardine, Perth was evacuated, and the Pretender and the Highlanders defiled across the broad, deep, and rapid river Tay, which was then frozen over with ice strong enough to bear both horse and foot. Having crossed the Tay, Mar and the Pretender proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee—the rapid movements of a Highland army leaving them little to apprehend from the slow pursuit of the regular troops, whose horses in many places could scarcely keep their feet. On the following morning, having secured in Perth a few of the rebel prisoners, "who, being drunk, had stayed behind the rest," Argyll followed along the Carse of Gowrie with six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions, and a detachment of 800 light foot, being still impeded by the state of the roads, as also by the provisions and artillery he thought necessary to take with him. When he reached Dundee—on the 3rd of February—he of course found the Highlanders all gone, the lightfooted mountaineers having struck along the road to Montrose, a road buried under the snow and almost impassable to any other kind of troops. Argyll, however, followed, and sent Cadogan towards Montrose by another route. On the 5th of February, about the hour of noon, Cadogan, who had got as far as Arbroath, received advice that the Pretender was gone for France the evening before. He had ordered the clans which had remained with him since his flight from Perth to be ready to march with him about eight at night towards Aberdeen, where, he assured them, they would find a

considerable force just arrived to join him from the Continent. At the hour appointed for their march the Pretender's horses were at the door of the house in which he lodged, a guard of honour was ready to see him mount, and no doubt was entertained by the Highlanders as to his remaining with them and going on to Aberdeen; but in the mean time he had slipped out on foot by a back door, proceeded to Lord Mar's quarters, and thence by a by-way to the water-side, where a boat was in waiting. Mar and the Pretender got into this boat, which carried them to a French ship of about ninety tons, called the 'Marie Therese,' of St. Malo, which lay in the offing with her yards bent. About a quarter of an hour later, two other boats carried on board the Earl of Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, and then they spread their sails and put to sea. This cunning and paltry flight was decisive as to some important parts of the Pretender's character; but there are one or two circumstances to be mentioned that do honour to his better feelings. He left behind him a letter addressed to the Duke of Argyll, with a small sum of money—probably nearly all that he had—for the relief of the poor people dwelling between Perth and Stirling, whose houses and villages had been burned by his orders; and in a letter addresed to General Gordon, who took upon him the remnant of the Highland army, he acquainted his friends that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, obliged him to leave the country; and, after thanking them all for their services, he advised them now to consult their own safety, in the way they should think most advisable. Together with General Gordon, the Earls Marshal and Southesk, the Lord Teignmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick, and many other Jacobite noblemen and gentlemen, were left to shift for themselves. The main body of the insurgents, who remained under General Gordon, struck off from Aberdeen by Castle Gordon, Strath-Spey, and Strath-Don, diminishing in numbers at the opening of every glen or mountain-pass which led to the homes of some of them. Colonel Grant took pos-

session of Castle Gordon, and there halted, Argyll and Cadogan having both agreed not to risk their regular troops among the wild parts of the Highlands, where they were sure of loss, if not of destruction.

When the Pretender arrived, *incognito*, in the neighbourhood of Paris, Bolingbroke waited upon him, attempted to revive his spirits, and to prescribe a political line of action. The prince professed the greatest affection, begged his lordship to follow him into Lorraine, and pressed him in his arms at parting, like a bosom friend. But, three days after this, when Bolingbroke thought his master was many a French league off, his lordship received a visit from the Duke of Ormond, who handed him two orders just written by the Pretender, and stating, *sans phrases*, that he was dismissed from his post as secretary of state, and must deliver to the Duke of Ormond *all* the papers in his office! The witty profligate says that this *all* might have been contained in a moderate-sized letter-case: but the rage which this treatment excited was scarcely to be contained in any space. Bolingbroke, with all his genius, had been duped and insulted by a blockhead and a bevy of women. Instead of taking post for Lorraine, as he had promised his secretary he would do, the Pretender had merely gone to an obscure house in the Bois de Boulogne, close to Paris, and had there confabulated and plotted with a set of kept-women and secretaries of foreign embassies, who used the place, and the majority of the persons assembled in it, for two kinds of intrigues. Bolingbroke says that he had in his hands matter wherewith to damp the triumph of the Duke of Ormond, who was now secretary of state as well as lord general to the prince without state or army, but that he scorned to make use of it. But Bolingbroke instantly renounced and denounced all connexion with the Jacobites; made overtures to Lord Stair, who was too conscious of his ability to despise him, and told Maria d'Este, the wretched mother of a wretched son, that he wished his arm might rot off if he ever again drew sword or pen for that cause. The Duke of Berwick saw at once the enormous blunder that had

been committed in thus dismissing the only Englishman the Pretender ever had able to manage his affairs.

When he took the road, the Pretender went to Chalons, in Champagne, where he waited for an answer from his always unwilling host, the Duke of Lorraine, touching his former lodgings at Bar-le-duc. No refusal could be more politely worded; but still it was a refusal he received; and, instead of going into Lorraine or into the little state of Deux-Ponts, the Pretender, irritated at the duke, made a long stage towards Rome, and settled himself under the wing of the pope in the city of Avignon, which the French had still allowed to remain to the holy see. In that famed old town, where Petrarca met his Laura, the Pretender was rejoined by the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Mar, and other Scotch and English fugitives and outcasts. Little danger was to be apprehended from these stalking specimens of mediocrity or imbecility. The arch-minister Bolingbroke gone, the cabinet of the Pretender was little better than a conclave of old women.

But, in the mean time, hundreds, thousands of Englishmen and Scots were paying a severe penalty for their rash doings. In Scotland, the number of prisoners was very small, and little work was done by the courts of law; but the clans were let loose upon one another, and the troops of George were put to live at free quarters in the houses and upon the estates of the Jacobites. But, in England, Forster's imbecile conduct and dastardly surrender at Preston had filled the gaols of the North with prisoners of a strange variety of conditions—nonjuring Protestants, high-church divines, Popish priests and monks in disguise, fox-hunting Jacobite squires, and Catholic officers and non-commissioned officers who had been turned out of the army on account of their religion: and mixed with these were Highland chiefs and dunniewassails, and Jacobite Lowland lairds, who had marched with Forster from Kelso. Upon some of these unfortunate captives military law was executed, and they were tried in bands by a court-martial, and then shot in a heap; while above five hundred prisoners of inferior condition

were left inhumanly to starve of hunger and cold in various castles and gaols in the North. Forster and the most conspicuous of the leaders were marched off for London, where they arrived on the 9th of December. When these unfortunate gentlemen had crossed Finchley Common, and reached the brow of Highgate Hill, they were made to halt, and to submit to numerous indignities: their arms were tied behind their backs like cut-throats and cut-purses; their horses were led by foot-soldiers, and their ears were stunned by all the drums of the escort beating a triumphal march, and by the shouts, scoffs, and jeers of the multitude. Upon their reaching the city, such as were lords or noblemen were sent to the Tower—the rest were divided among the four common gaols. They were not long suffered to remain there in doubt and uncertainty: the nation, the parliament, which re-assembled on the 9th of January, were eager for an example, and far too anxious, in the spirit of the time, for blood. Mr. Lechmere, after a long and vehement speech, impeached James Earl of Derwentwater of high treason. Other members of the Commons, with fewer words, but equal heat, impeached Lord Widdrington, the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmuir, and Lord Nairn. Not a single voice was raised in opposition, not an effort made in debate to avert the doom of these incompetent revolutionists, though certainly there was still many a Jacobite in the House. On the 19th of January these noblemen were all brought before the House of Lords, assembled as a court of justice in Westminster Hall, with Earl Cowper, the chancellor, presiding as lord high steward. They knelt at the bar till the chancellor desired them to rise; and then they all, but one, confessed their guilt, and threw themselves upon the mercy of King George—a prince neither unmerciful nor cruel, but far indeed from possessing either a tender heart or a lively imagination. Sentence of death, as traitors, was forthwith pronounced upon Widdrington, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmuir, and Lord Nairn; and preparations were ordered for the trial of Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty. Secretary

Stanhope, who *was* a man of feeling, interposed and saved the life of Lord Nairn, who had been his schoolfellow: but the united interest and earnest supplications of the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, of the young Countess of Derwentwater pleading with tears for the husband she tenderly loved, and of many other ladies of rank, failed in moving the rough and sturdy king, who admitted them to an audience, but adhered to his purpose, which was the purpose of the majority of his ministers. Bribes, which had succeeded before in like circumstances, were offered now without effect. Sixty thousand pounds were tendered for the single pardon of Lord Derwentwater, who, up to the time of the mad rising in the north, had been living happily and hospitably in his fine old castle, reflected in the clear waters of one of the most beautiful of English lakes; and for whose present hard fate tears were shed and lamentations raised in every valley and on every hill-side in Cumberland. Some of the best of the Whigs in the Commons, and among them poor Steele, would have saved life without money or bribe; but Robert Walpole, who in after-life was certainly not a cruel minister, was on the present occasion perfectly obdurate: he expressed his horror and disgust at the leniency of these Whigs, whom he called "unworthy members of this great body," since they could, "without blushing, open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides." As, however, favourable circumstances had arisen for the Earl of Carnwath and Lord Widdrington, and as some respect was due to the opinion and feeling of the House of Lords, those two noblemen were respited. The three remaining victims were left for execution, and, to prevent any further interference, orders were sent to the Tower to have the block ready on the following morning. But during that night the conjugal affection and heroism of Lady Nithsdale robbed the block of a head. She dressed her lord in her own clothes, and he escaped by night, and in that disguise, out of the Tower. There thus remained only two victims—the English Lord Derwentwater and the Scottish Lord Kenmuir; and they, at an early hour the next morning—the 24th

of February—were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill.

Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty, embarrassed his prosecutors, for, though he seemed at times crazy or half idiotic, he managed his business with considerable craft and skill, and on his trial struck one of the first of Whigs and ministers with a sharp repartee. He was not put upon his trial till the 15th of March, having gained time by petitions and other devices. He was found guilty of high treason, and sent back to the Tower; but it appears that there was no real intention to proceed to execution, and, after lying some time in that state prison, he effected his escape.

In the beginning of April a commission for trying the rebels of inferior rank met in the Court of Common Pleas. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates were found guilty on indictments for high treason. Forster and Mackintosh were both fortunate enough to break their prison and escape, and seven others followed their example, and got safe to the Continent. But four were executed in London, and twenty-two in Lancashire, where above a thousand submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to the colonies in America. The amount of punishment and of blood seemed in those days unaccountably and imprudently small. As the English Catholics, driven by persecution, and intolerance, and insult, into disaffection, had in some places shown so warm a zeal for the Pretender, it was resolved to increase those very evils which had been the cause of their disaffection. On the 17th of April a bill "to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain, by enforcing the laws now in being against Papists," was finally passed without opposition.

The Whigs in the last general election had secured a most triumphant majority; but extreme changes in opinion had of late years been both frequent and sudden; and it was seriously apprehended by the new king and his ministers that circumstances had been and were at work among the people which would render another

general election very uncertain in its issue—perhaps return a strong Tory majority. With the first George the word Tory was, and could be, little better than a synonym for Jacobite or traitor: it was scarcely possible for him to be impartial, and to look coolly on the struggle of the two parties for power and pre-eminence. In his eyes, and in the opinion of a vast portion of the nation, it was not a mere party contest, a dispute about general principles, but a life and death conflict for dynasties and entire systems. But for the Whigs George would never have got to England; and, notwithstanding the Hanoverian Tories, whose number had been reduced since his accession by the disappointment of their hopes in obtaining high places and rewards, he firmly believed that, but for the Whigs, the Jacobites, Tories, and high-church-men would send him back to Germany in the course of a single session. It therefore became the great object of his majesty, of his best adviser Robert Walpole, and of all the present Whig cabinet, to keep by all means in their power the Jacobites and Tories out of parliament; and to effect this, they resorted to the very questionable measure of passing an act not only extending the limit of the duration of future parliaments from three to seven years, but even so far disregarding the act of 1694, under which the members of the existing House of Commons had been returned, as to give to the present parliament also the benefit of the extended term. If the act of 1694 were to continue law, the present Whig parliament must rise in little more than a year, when the nation was likely to be threatened with invasion from abroad, insurrections at home, plots, intrigues, and manœuvres of all kinds; but if, on the contrary, four years could be added to its existence, there was a probability that the political atmosphere might clear up in the interval—the Whigs would have time to complete their work, and the new king to become somewhat better acquainted with his subjects, among whom at present he was moving and acting like a strange man in a strange country. Ministers resolved that the Septennial Bill should originate in the House of Lords, where neither a

failure nor the unpopularity of the measure could do any direct mischief; and, on the 10th of April, the Duke of Devonshire, lord steward of the household, and son of the nobleman who had been one of the principal promoters of the Triennial Act, brought in the new bill for repealing that act. The Duke of Devonshire, the proposer, was supported by the Duke of Argyll, Lords Dorset, Carteret, Cowper, and other peers attached to the ministry; and the measure was opposed by the Duke of Buckingham, Lords Peterborough, Nottingham, Anglesea, and all the Tories. On a division the commitment was carried by 96 votes to 61. When the bill had finally passed the Lords, it was sent down to the Commons by the hands of two of the judges. The Septennial Bill was read a third time on the 26th of April, when the Tory minority could muster no more than 121 votes; and, with the applauses of some and the curses of others, it became the law of the land. The great Somers, whose complicated disorders had ended in a paralysis which affected both mind and body, died on the very day the bill was passed. The equally conspicuous Whig, Halifax, had died some months before him. It is said that Somers, on his death-bed, expressed his hearty approbation of the Septennial Act; but those who love shorter parliaments doubt whether he was in a state competent to give an opinion. On the 8th of June Stanhope and Cragg's separate bill, disabling any person from being chosen a member of the House of Commons, or sitting or voting in the same, that held any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, from the crown, was passed; and on the 26th of June the parliament was prorogued.

And, as his majesty now considered himself in a state of security, and as he had been relieved by a subsequent statute from the embarrassing clause in the Act of Settlement restraining him from leaving the kingdom, he intimated that he was going to revisit his dominions in Germany, the state of affairs on the Continent demanding serious attention. And, in fact, the elements of strife and hostility seemed to be combining in a very alarming

manner against this first prince of the House of Hanover, who, beyond Holland and the States-General, had scarcely a single ally upon whom he could depend; for even his own son-in-law, the King of Prussia, a capricious, wrong-headed prince, was frequently tempted to quarrel with him, and even to proceed to the extremity of joining the confederacy against him. The Emperor Charles, who was invested with the fanciful function of preserving harmony throughout the Germanic confederacy, was, upon several grounds, exceedingly jealous of George I., whom he personally disliked; and he had also a strong antipathy to the Dutch—the Hanoverian's best allies—on account of their conduct at the peace of Utrecht and in the Barrier Treaty. The emperor, however, was not in a condition to provoke open hostilities with England and Holland; and though he declined any direct engagement for compelling the Pretender to remove to Rome, and remain there quiet upon an English pension allowed by the occupant, or, as he considered him, the usurper of his throne, he consented to a defensive alliance with England in case of aggression from France or any other power, with a mutual guarantee of territory. This alliance was concluded a month before the English king prorogued his parliament; but still there remained the difficult business of the Pretender's removal beyond the Alps, and many other serious questions which would be best settled on the Continent. Lord Stair, after the miserable failure of the expedition into Scotland, had acquired a great influence over the French regent, who was himself surrounded by many difficulties. According to the arrangement of the peace of Utrecht, the Duke of Orleans, by the death of the boy Louis XV., would be promoted from his condition of regent to that of sole and absolute sovereign of France. Philip V. of Spain indeed stood nearer to the French throne; but, in accepting the Spanish, he had made that solemn act of renunciation about which so much has been said. It was, however, well known to Orleans that, in case of this sickly boy's death, Philip would get absolved from his oaths, set the

act of renunciation and the treaty of Utrecht at defiance, and claim the French kingdom. And, indeed, as if to facilitate his seizure of the throne, Philip had endeavoured and was at the moment endeavouring to deprive the Duke of Orleans even of the secondary and temporary honours and advantages of the regency. Orleans doubtless felt the value of the friendship of King George, but neither party had or could have much confidence in the other. Lord Stair, however, made smooth many difficulties and doubts, and established such a degree of confidence between the two princes, that they agreed to proceed to a treaty. As a national object, which had been proposed before, in the latter days of Louis XIV., Orleans was anxious to obtain the erasure or modification of that clause in the treaty of Utrecht which had bound France to demolish Dunkirk and fill up its port. That port, indeed, had been partially destroyed; but, to get an equivalent, the French had begun to dig a new basin and a new canal at Mardyke, upon the same coast, and at a very short distance from Dunkirk. If George would consent to this making of a new Dunkirk—a scheme which had been vehemently denounced even under Queen Anne—he (the regent) would bind himself to other compliances. Here, perhaps, the negotiations would have come to a stand-still if it had not been for the increasing difficulties of Orleans, and his conviction that, after all, it was better to keep the regency than to get permission to make a new port. Accordingly he removed the negotiations from the Hague, took the management out of the hands of Chateauneuf, and placed it in those of his prime adviser, the Abbé Dubois, who was equally his minister of state and the minister of his pleasures and debaucheries. The abbé, properly instructed, went into Holland, and found himself at the Hague—ostensibly only to buy pictures, and books, and porcelain—just as King George was to pass through that town on his way to Hanover. There it was easy for the abbé to talk, as if merely for the sake of conversation, with the English ministers and courtiers who were following their new sovereign to his own do-

minions; as also to discover that Secretary Stanhope was thinking very seriously of a definitive treaty with France, separate from, and independent of, the general arrangements of Utrecht. Upon receiving this information, the Duke of Orleans instructed Dubois to continue his travels, even unto Hanover, where he was to appear in a private capacity, but, at the same time, with ample authority to treat. Secretary Stanhope received the abbé, who arrived at Hanover on the 19th of August, in a friendly manner. Dubois, following the general practice of diplomatists and horsedealers, who always ask more than they expect and are ready to take, began by asking Stanhope for Mardyke; but the English secretary told him at once that that point would never be yielded—that England would never consent to the continuance of the works there. But, on the other matter or matters which the abbé's pupil and employer, Orleans, had far more at heart, Stanhope was as ready, as courteous, and complying as could be desired. England, he said, would not only support the duke in his regency, but would also guarantee to him his succession to the throne, in case the young Louis should die. The abbé not only said nothing in favour of the Pretender, but actually suggested, himself, several methods for driving him from Avignon beyond the Alps. When the preliminaries were signed by Stanhope and Dubois, they were forwarded to London for approval, and to the Hague for a further accession to the treaty, it being the intention of George all along to include his best allies, the Dutch. *

Matters were in this state by the month of September (1716), when the treaty itself was drawn up and prepared for ratification. But at this point George's anxiety as Elector of Hanover to extend his dominions on the Continent, and the desperate spirit of Charles XII. of Sweden, cast a damp on the negotiations, and for some months greatly embarrassed George and his English and

* Secretary Stanhope's Despatches in Coxe, Memoirs of Walpole.

Hanoverian advisers. At the peace of Westphalia the rich districts of Bremen and Verden, which had formerly been bishoprics and separate states, were secularised and ceded to Sweden, which continued to possess them in quiet till Charles XII. carried his victorious arms so far as to be conquered by Russian serfs at Pultava. Then Danes, Norwegians, Prussians, Saxons, and all the nations that had crouched at his feet rose up for revenge; and while he was detained a captive at Bender, in Turkey, whither he had fled, they commenced helping themselves to his territories. His Danish majesty had seized upon Verden and Bremen, and conquered Sleswick and Holstein. But in November, 1716, Charles XII. suddenly arrived in Sweden; and then the enemies he he had so thoroughly beaten and humiliated in former days began to tremble anew. Frederick of Denmark, in order to secure part of the prey he had made, offered to relinquish another part to George; and in the month of July of the preceding year (1715) George had concluded a treaty, not as king of England, but as Elector of Hanover; and, upon condition of keeping Bremen and Verden for himself, he had engaged to join the coalition against Sweden, and to pay his Danish majesty a sum equal to about 150,000*l.* sterling. Instantly some of the ill effects of having for king of England a prince that was sovereign of another country were made manifest: a British squadron under Sir John Norris was sent in the autumn of that year (1715) to the Baltic. Nearly at the same time that Sir John Norris appeared in the Baltic with the ships of England, six thousand Hanoverians marched into Pomerania, and there joined the Danes and Prussians, who reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked Stralsund, into which place Charles XII. had thrown himself, but from which he was now obliged to retire. The heroic madman was furious at the conduct of George and of the English Cabinet: he taunted them as cowards for thus falling upon one already beset by so many enemies; and, adopting at once, with his constitutional daring, a bold and immense scheme, he put himself in communication with the Jacobites of England and

Scotland, and engaged to back the Pretender in a new war in Great Britain with 12,000 veteran Swedes. At this very moment Charles's rival, Peter the Great, who on many points was as mad as himself, stretched forth his rude arm to grasp a part of Denmark and a portion of the Germanic empire. Unexpectedly an army of Muscovites marched into Mecklenburg, where great dissension prevailed between the reigning duke and his subjects. Peter had given his niece in marriage to this little potentate of Mecklenburg; and could challenge, if necessary, a sort of family right to interfere. The king of Denmark took the alarm, and remonstrated: the semi-barbarous Czar told him to take heed or he would quarter his Muscovites in Denmark. Frederick poured out his sense of these wrongs and insults to his close ally, King George, who was himself deeply interested as a German prince, and who, moreover, bore an inveterate hatred to Peter.* George, in the heat of his rage, sent his favourite Bernsdorf to Stanhope with a project to crush the "Czar immediately; to secure his ships, and even to seize his person, to be kept till his troops should evacuate Germany."† Stanhope, as an English minister, was startled at this daring proposal, and though fond of daring enterprises, would not take upon himself to do more than instruct Norris to join his remonstrances with those of his Danish majesty.

During the height of these alarms at the proceedings of the Czar, Stanhope and his master were equally impatient to finish their affair with the Abbé Dubois, and to remove some obstacles which the French treaty had encountered on the part of the States-General. The Muscovites, however, were not then quite so powerful as they seemed to be; and Peter, who was beset by the

* There was no love lost between the two royal brothers; "the Czar hated King George mortally." "This hatred," says St. Simon, "lasted all their lives, and in the greatest bitterness."

† Stanhope's Despatches to Lord Townshend in Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.

diplomacy of nearly all Europe, and remonstrated with, if not threatened, by the English Admiral, withdrew the greater part of his troops, and for the present gave up his alarming projects upon Mecklenburg and Northern Germany. After this the French treaty languished again; and in the discussion and management of it Stanhope and Townshend disagreed and quarrelled, and thus gave origin to the noted schism in the great Whig administration. The king, who considered himself insulted by Townshend, took part with Stanhope. Walpole stood by Townshend, who, besides displeasing the king, had made an enemy for life of one of the German mistresses, Mademoiselle de Schulemberg, who was soon after created Duchess of Munster in Ireland, and Baroness Glastonbury, Countess of Feversham, and Duchess of Kendal in the English peerage. He had also provoked her colleague Bothmar, who, according to the minister's own declaration, "had every day some infamous project or other on foot to get money." A most active court intrigue was set on foot; Sunderland repaired to Hanover, where he made a wonderful progress in the favour of his sovereign and in the friendship of Stanhope the favourite minister; both Sunderland and Stanhope gratified the king by engaging to assist him in his Continental projects; and the king was induced to suspect that during his absence at Hanover Townshend had been caballing with his undutiful and impatient son, the Prince of Wales. A trap was laid for Townshend, and he fell into it. The effect was an increase of dislike and suspicion on the part of the king. At last it was proposed that Townshend should accept the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and that Sunderland, who held that post, and liked it not, should have a greater share of authority in England. Lord Townshend was at the time exceedingly popular in England, being esteemed as essentially an *English* minister, above all foreign influences, opposed to Continental connections, and patriotic, blunt, and thoroughly honest. To resign he was obliged; but the acceptance or the non-acceptance of the lord-lieutenancy was a matter of free choice, and he indignantly rejected it. In the

mean time George had left Hanover for England, and arrived at the Hague. Here he was detained several days by important business with the States-General, who feared, and who had reason to fear, the effect of any serious division in the Whig cabinet—for through such a gap the Tories might get back to office, and then the whole scheme of foreign policy so recently laid down would be inevitably deranged. Some of the ablest and best of the Dutch ministers were the personal friends of Townshend; and, while they endeavoured to soften the animosities of the king, they laboured to remove the obstinacy of the minister, and intreated his lordship not to decline the offer of the lord-lieutenancy, and so close the avenue to his returning favour. Nearly a month before the king's arrival at the Hague, the treaty with the French Regent had been signed for England and France; and a few days after George's departure thence for London, it was finally settled for Holland, and then became "THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE."

George reached London by the end of December, and, as his first passion had abated, he received Townshend very graciously, and even confessed to him that he had been over-hasty. He afterwards represented to the fallen minister, that, though he had perhaps proceeded too hastily, and though he could not with due regard to his own dignity and consistency immediately restore him (Townshend), he was ready and willing to give him every other possible satisfaction: and, in the end, Townshend condescended to accept the lord-lieutenancy, and to pocket its profits without going over to perform its duties. He was continued a member of the cabinet; and his conduct was not merely excused, but applauded by his party and friends as the only course that could prevent a fatal schism among the Whigs. Thus the Walpoles, the Pulteneys, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Orford, and the rest of the men in place continued as they were; the only change being the appointment of Methuen to be one of the principal secretaries of state. But from this moment Sunderland was suspected to be the secret mover of the royal counsels. Owing to these

difficult negotiations, and to discoveries made of alarming plots and the correspondence of the Jacobites with Charles XII., the meeting of parliament, which had been fixed for the king's return, was put off for many weeks.

A.D. 1717.—At last parliament met, on the 20th day of February, when the king informed the two Houses of the happy conclusion of the Triple Alliance; and of the actual danger the nation had been in of an invasion from Sweden, and of a conspiracy at home, which, however, had been discovered in time and prevented. And in a day or two copies of letters and papers which went to prove the madness of the Jacobites and the audacity of the Swedes were laid before the Houses. The principal manager of this strange intrigue was Baron Gortz, a clever but desperate adventurer from Franconia, who had become Charles's principal adviser and most trusted minister.

This Gortz was a notorious coward, but he was shrewd and quick, and was, according to Voltaire, equally ready with gifts, promises, oaths, and lies.* He put himself in direct communication with the Pretender and the Duke of Ormond, and carried on a secret correspondence both with London and Paris. As he became better acquainted with the state of England and France, and with the views of the Czar Peter, Gortz enlarged his scheme, and proposed nothing less than a lasting peace and a close alliance between Charles and Peter, the overthrow of the regent in France by means of a conspiracy, and the overthrow of George I. by an insurrection in England and an invasion of Scotland by the hero of Narva in person. As Sweden was a very poor country—as Charles was actually cutting up his soldiers' boots to coin into mock money—Gortz was obliged to ask for cash to

* Histoire de Charles XII. Voltaire knew Gortz personally and well. Indeed, at one time, when Gortz was residing at the Hague, and corresponding with London, he wished to engage the witty Frenchman as a secretary and travelling companion.

carry on the mighty scheme; and the little court at Avignon, poor as it was, offered 60,000*l.*, while the prime minister of Spain, Alberoni, actually sent to Spaar, the Swedish minister at Paris, a million of French livres as a subsidy. The Jacobites were wonderfully elated. Perhaps, as usual, it was these extravagant and injudicious plotters that first let out the secret. Be this as it may, hints were dropped in London; and in the preceding month of October some letters from Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at St. James's, to the main plotter, Gortz, at the Hague, were stopped and deciphered by the English government, which, therefore, in all probability, had been previously furnished with a key to the cipher used.

This discovery was made before George's return, and other information was obtained after his arrival. Stanhope on the 29th of January had laid most ample information before the privy council, and proposed the decisive step of arresting Gyllenborg and seizing his papers. Some members of the cabinet were startled; but as it was clear that the Swede had lost his character of ambassador in that of a conspirator with the subjects of the prince to whom he was accredited, it was presently resolved to follow Stanhope's advice; and Gyllenborg was arrested on the same day. General Wade, who was charged with this commission, found the count making up some despatches: he told him he was his prisoner, seized the papers that were on the table, and demanded the keys of the escrutoire. Gyllenborg stormed and swore about this violation of the law of nations, and then begged to be permitted to send for and consult with Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador. Wade, a staunch old soldier, accustomed to execute his orders to the letter, told the Swede that he should speak with nobody, and again demanded his keys. Gyllenborg refused the keys, and his wife coming in assured the general that the escrutoire contained nothing but her plate and linen. Wade then caused the doors to be burst open; and he found in it a great heap of papers. These he sealed up and carried with him, leaving a guard upon the count, who was thus

constituted a prisoner in his own house. In the course of the same day Mr. Cæsar, "a creature of Lord Oxford's,"* and a member of Parliament for Hertford, was arrested, as was also Sir Jacob Banks, formerly member for Minehead, and who was equally suspected by government. Intelligence of these rapid events was soon conveyed to the Swedish king, who neither owned nor disowned the proceedings of Gortz and Gyllenborg. As a retaliation he ordered the arrest of Mr. Jackson, the British resident at his court, and forbade the Dutch resident his presence.

When this business was laid before parliament, the Commons most vehemently expressed their indignation. In the month of April, Stanhope delivered a royal message, informing the Commons of the danger which still impended over the nation from the designs of Sweden, and demanding an extraordinary supply to enable his majesty to make good such engagements as it might be necessary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert the storm. The debate that arose instantly proved that the seeming reconciliation between the Townshends and Walpoles, and the Stanhopes and Sunderlands, was hollow and unreal: Robert Walpole spoke coldly in favour of the motion; and all his and Townshend's friends and adherents voted against the supply (fixed at 250,000*l.*), which in consequence was only carried by a majority of *four*. Neither the king nor Stanhope could for a moment separate Townshend and Walpole from their party in the House; and on that very evening Stanhope announced to Townshend that he was no longer Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Robert Walpole did not wait to be thus humiliated:—at a very early hour of the next morning he waited on the king and resigned his places of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Methuen and Pulteney also resigned in the course of the same morning;

* This description of Cæsar is given in one of his letters by Lord Townshend, who further notices the very significant fact that Count Gyllenborg had been passing most of the preceding summer with Mr. Cæsar, in Hertfordshire.

but Lord Orford and the Duke of Devonshire clung to office two or three days longer, and the Lord Chancellor Cowper and the Duke of Kingston did not resign at all. Secretary Stanhope, who was departing farther and farther from his original profession of a soldier, was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Sunderland and Joseph Addison became Secretaries of State, the Earl of Berkeley First Lord of the Admiralty, the Duke of Newcastle Lord Chamberlain, and the Duke of Bolton Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. This new cabinet was presently christened "the *German* ministry," and Robert Walpole, who, more than Townshend, had been the head of the displaced administration, became terrible in opposition. He complained of breaches of friendship, of political treachery, and betraying of private confidence in conversation. As the facts were too notorious to be denied, he owned that while he was in place he had endeavoured to serve his friends and his relations, but this he said was nothing but what was reasonable and just. From this time the parties of Walpole and Stanhope were as violent against each other as the Whigs and Tories; but many even of his personal adherents thought that Walpole had gone too far in letting out the money-secrets and jobbings of the court.

The new administration, anxious to secure popularity, recommended a reduction of the army, and an act of grace to extend to many persons concerned in the late insurrections in Scotland and the north of England. It was not intended that this act of grace should cover the ex-premier Lord Oxford, who had been now lying nearly two years in the Tower without any progress being made in his trial. The Lords fixed the 24th of June for the trial, intimating to the Commons that they must by that day make good their charges. But the leaders of the secret committee, who had drawn up the accusation while in office, were by no means anxious to press it now that they were out of office: *then* the salvation of the nation depended upon the condign punishment of the minister, but *now* the nation could be saved without it. Robert

Walpole, who had formerly been so hot, was now perfectly cool, and, as he almost always absented himself from the committee, it became necessary to appoint another chairman. Walpole and Lord Townshend both came to a secret understanding with the Jacobite Chancellor Harcourt, the bosom friend of Oxford, and with the Tories. On the 24th of June the peers, with the king and the rest of the royal family and the members of the *corps diplomatique* as spectators, assembled in Westminster Hall, which was properly prepared for the trial, and crowded by other persons anxious to witness the scene. Oxford was brought from the Tower, and stood bare-headed at the bar, with the executioner and axe at his side—an old formality in cases of treason. And, after the articles of impeachment had been read, together with Oxford's answers to them, and the replication of the Commons, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up to make good the first article. But here Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a special motion to make, which could only be done in their own house. The peers adjourned accordingly to their own house, where the ex-Jacobite chancellor represented that to go through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to very little purpose; for if the Commons could make good the two articles for high treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. The Lords presently voted that no evidence on the charges of misdemeanor should be received until after the charges of high treason had been heard and determined. The Commons refused to comply. The Lords at length declared that they would admit of no further conferences or delays, and they appointed the 1st of July for the trial. The Commons resolved not to proceed with the prosecution on those terms; and on the appointed day no prosecutors appeared in Westminster Hall. The Lords sat silent, and as if in expectation, for about a quarter of an hour. They then returned to their own House, where a motion was made and carried, that, as no charge had been maintained against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, he should be acquitted;—

and the ex-prime minister, after his long detention, stepped forth a free man, to the infinite mortification of Marlborough and his vindictive duchess, who had certainly desired exile and confiscation, if not blood.* The people, who at the beginning of the impeachment would probably have seen the plotting minister executed with much pleasure, now hailed his liberation with loud acclamations; but the king forbade Oxford the court. Did George know or suspect the fact, which has been since proved, that Oxford during his detention in the Tower had written to the Pretender, promising his services, and giving him his advice as to the best means of managing his affairs.† At the close of the session Stanhope was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Stanhope. By this ill-timed promotion the affairs of the new administration in the Commons were left in the somewhat incompetent hands of Cragg, Aislabie, and Addison, who had little or no power to do anything themselves, and who were frequently left ignorant as to what their principals wished to have done. This childish impatience for the peerage had contributed already more than once to weaken and destroy an administration.

Charles XII. of Sweden was still silent as to the Jacobite scheme and the plotting and conspiring of his ministers, but his neighbours found him too much employment to permit the carrying his arms into Scotland; and he became anxious for a temporary reconciliation. The French regent stepped forward as a common friend, and by virtue of his mediation the English court was assured that Charles had never any intention to disturb the tranquillity of Great Britain; Count Gyllenborg was liberated on one side, and Mr. Jackson on the other. But new rumours of wars with Spain soon agitated the public

* "My Lady Marlborough," says Erasmus Lewis, in a letter to Swift, "is almost distracted that she could not obtain her revenge."

† Sir James Mackintosh discovered among the Stuart papers, deposited at Carlton House, a letter to this effect, dated September, 1715, when Oxford was in the Tower, and when the Pretender was preparing his miserable expedition.

mind. The court of Madrid had behaved to George in a deceitful and irritating imanner, making him in public solemn declarations that they would give no assistance to his enemies, and in private sending money to the Pretender. Upon the failure of the insurrection in Scotland, Alberoni, the prime minister, had discredited Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador at London, and had made new professions of a sincere and lasting friendship, declaring that, next to God, the king his master looked up to King George. But it was the most earnest wish of Philip, or rather, perhaps, of his wife and prime minister, to weaken or overthrow the Duke of Orleans' regency, and to raise up barriers to his succession to the throne in case the young Louis XV. should die; and Spanish gold and Spanish intrigue were mixed up with every plot or conspiracy against the regent, whom George had bound himself to defend. At the same time the court of Madrid was furious against the court of Vienna, as the emperor, instead of acknowledging Philip, still retained for himself the title of King of Spain, and added that of Prince of Asturias to the many titles of his infant son. But what was a greater provocation still was the circumstance of the emperor's holding by the peace of Utrecht all the fair dominions in Italy which had formerly belonged to Spain. The national pride of the Spaniards, and the interest of many of them, encouraged the Bourbon; and it soon became a principle or an article of political faith at Madrid, that Spain would remain a dishonoured country until she had recovered Naples, Milan, everything in Italy, and everything elsewhere, which had been separated from her by the treaty of Utrecht. Thus the treaty between England and the empire which guaranteed the Italian provinces, and the recent Triple Alliance, which provided for a *statu quo*, and the protection of France and the regent, were both singularly distasteful to the Spanish court. Philip's minister, Alberoni, tried his hand alternately with George and the emperor, hoping to interrupt the good understanding between them. When the English court was found obstinate he suspended the execution of the commercial treaty,

and permitted various vexations to be practised upon English merchants trading with Spain; and when the emperor rejected all overtures for a compromise, he insulted and almost struck his ambassadors. A war, at least between Spain and the House of Austria, was inevitable; but Alberoni wanted time to repair the finances of the country, and would have abstained from hostilities for some three or four years longer. A summary and very unjustifiable proceeding on the part of the emperor hurried on the war. The Duke of Popoli, whose family had held vast estates in that part of Italy, recommended Philip to begin with the invasion of Naples. Alberoni, in a powerfully written memorial, showed the uncertainty of the enterprise and the exceeding great danger of provoking the great maritime powers; but, finding his arguments of no avail, he pressed the requisite preparations for war with his usual zeal and ability.* But the Spanish armament, instead of proceeding to Naples, stopped short at Sardinia, and reduced that island, which had been granted to the emperor. Philip caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Madrid, and Alberoni drew up manifestos and circulars to excuse this attack in time of peace, for no declaration of war had been made. On the other side the emperor called upon the members of the Triple Alliance to fulfil their engagements, and protect him against such aggression; and he called upon the pope to justify himself against the suspicion of having connived with Spain. Viscount Stanhope despatched his relative, Mr. Stanhope, to Madrid, to attempt to prevent a war by arranging articles of accommodation between Philip and the emperor. Alberoni fell upon the imperfect arrangements of the wretched peace of Utrecht, which by this time had become a bye-word of contempt throughout Europe. "You made War," said the able and eloquent Italian, "to establish the balance of power, and you concluded a Peace without any balance whatever." At length, both France and Holland adopted a decisive

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

tone, and absolutely refused to leave to Spain her recent conquest of Sardinia. The pope, who was overawed by the Austrians, that were now by far the most powerful in Italy, and that at any time, on a few days' notice, could surround him in Rome, directed a terrible brief against Philip, threatening him with the vengeance of Heaven. But the thunder of the Vatican was disregarded, and Alberoni, though a cardinal, cared not for a suspension of the indulto. The cardinal was, however, obliged to dissemble, and to consent to open a negotiation. He hoped and trusted that, as usual, the different interests of the allies would create difficulties and delays, and he determined to make the most strenuous exertions to prepare for a war during these deliberations for a peace. He entertained a contempt for partition treaties and their framers. "There are certain men," said he, "who would cut and pare states and kingdoms, as though they were so many Dutch cheeses." Spain, that had been so long sinking into a lethargy and a slough of despond, was electrified and awakened by the rare energy of this Italian priest. Ships of war were built, cannons were cast, arms forged, sailors and soldiers engaged in all quarters; and all this, as Alberoni afterwards boasted, was done without levying any new tax upon the nation, but by enforcing economy, selling some court offices, and mortgaging some of the revenues. At this critical moment King Philip was dangerously ill, a prey to hypochondria, almost to the same extent as his wretched predecessor on that throne. His queen—who had far more of the man in her character than he had—and the cardinal, kept the entire management of affairs in their hands, and let none but their own creatures approach the royal invalid. Alberoni and the queen were in fact absolute; and the cardinal urged on his preparations for war, and extended his intrigues in all directions. He enticed the sovereign of Savoy by the most tempting offers; he encouraged the Sultan to continue an unfortunate war in which he was actually engaged with the emperor; he corresponded with the emperor's disaffected subjects in Hungary and Transylvania, who were always

numerous, and almost always ready to put their hands to the throat of the Austrian eagle; he took all the factious in France under his care; and he entered into the closest correspondence with the Pretender, who had at last been compelled to quit France altogether, and to fix his residence at Rome. The adroit Italian even found work for the British press; and pamphlets, for which he paid, were published against the threatened war, against standing armies, against Hanoverian mistresses and ministers, and against everything else that was most unpopular.

In the mean time the unfortunate family dissensions in the House of Hanover continued on the increase; and on account of a ridiculous quarrel about the christening of a baby, the Prince of Wales was at first put under arrest in his own apartment, and then ordered to quit St. James's. A French writer who knew more of the history of courts than any one of his day, affirms broadly that George I. could never bear the prince, because he believed he was no son of his.* However this may be, the antipathy between the king and the prince was extreme. The latter, on his expulsion from court, fixed his residence at Leicester House, which, as a matter of course, became the constant resort of the disappointed and disaffected of all classes, and the centre of an increasing turmoil and intrigue. On the 21st of November, while the nation was reflecting upon the unnatural animosity between father and son, and upon the stormy aspect of affairs abroad, the parliament assembled. The king, in his speech, spoke of his successful endeavours to preserve tranquillity at home; but ministers thought themselves obliged to demand at least 18,000 men for the service of the ensuing year. Walpole, who knew as well as any one the dangers of insurrection and the chances of invasion, insisted that 18,000 men were far too many; that 12,000 would be enough, and more than enough; that we were in danger of a standing army,

* St. Simon.—Horace Walpole (Reminiscences) gives an epigrammatic story of the royal quarrel.

and that if we wished to remain a free country we could not too carefully keep down the numbers of the military force. The Walpole and Townshend Whigs and the Jacobites all adopted and carried out Walpole's arguments, taking frequent occasion to cast reflections upon the foreign character and un-English interests of the court.

A.D. 1718.—The session of parliament closed on the 21st of March. A few days before the prorogation, the king, by message, informed the House of Commons "that he had reason to judge, from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be necessary;" and the Commons, by an address, assured his majesty "that the House would make good such exceedings as his majesty in his royal wisdom should deem necessary for the purpose of giving effect to his unwearied endeavours to preserve the peace of Europe." Walpole observed that all this had very much the air of a declaration of war; yet the address was carried without a division.

A large armament was prepared at Portsmouth; but negotiations were not interrupted. The better to attend to them, and to foreign affairs generally, Lord Stanhope, who had many personal friends in all the courts of Europe, had given up the treasury and the chancellorship of the exchequer to Sunderland and Aislabie. Joseph Addison, that exquisite writer, had long before proved himself to be no orator, and he had since shown, as joint secretary of state with Sunderland, that he was no man of business. He retired at this time upon a pension of 1500*l.* a-year, and he died about fifteen months after at Holland House. The loss of Addison was probably little felt by his party; but they mourned over the sudden and sullen resignation of the lord chancellor Cowper, which occurred this year. Parker, chief justice of the King's Bench, and afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, got the great seal. Shrewsbury, who had played so many parts, but who on the whole had done infinite good to the cause of the Revolution of 1688, and to the Whigs, died early in the year. Another Spanish armament, now ready, was described by Spaniards as grander and more

formidable than any that had ever been equipped by Spain, even in the days of the Emperor Charles V., Philip II., and the grand Armada. Twenty-nine enormous ships of the line and a host of transports had taken on board thirty-five thousand disciplined troops, one hundred pieces of heavy artillery, forty mortars, and a vast supply of ammunition and stores of all kinds. The British government, however, was not unprepared, and on the 4th of June the armament at Portsmouth sailed for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, who had twenty-one sail of the line, and peremptory orders to attack the Spanish fleet wherever he should find it, if it were engaged in any hostile enterprise against Sicily or Naples, or any other territories belonging to the emperor in Italy. Byng on his arrival off Cadiz transmitted a copy of his instructions to Alberoni. The cardinal tore the paper, threw it on the ground in a paroxysm of rage, and returned for answer that Byng might execute the orders he had received *if he could*. The English fleet entered the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed up the Mediterranean, and came to anchor in the bay of Naples, where Byng apparently expected to find the Spanish armament, or a part of it. There was, however, not a single Spaniard there; but the Austrian viceroy of Naples, who received him with exceeding joy, had to inform Byng that they had landed in Sicily and were reducing Messina to extremity.*

In the meantime the court of Vienna had gratified King George with sundry assurances as to Bremen and Verden; had proposed a closer union of interests; and the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE had been concluded between the courts of Vienna, Paris, the Hague, and London. By this treaty, which was concluded in July, though not finally signed till August, it was agreed that mutual renunciation should be made; that the Infant Don Carlos should have the reversion of Parma and

* An account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, in the years 1718-19, and 20, under the command of Sir George Byng, Bart., collected from the Admiral's MSS.

Tuscany; that the emperor should have the island of Sicily instead of Sardinia, which had been taken from him by the Spaniards; and that Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who actually held Sicily by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, should have the island of Sardinia, from which the Spaniards were to be expelled at all costs. As Sardinia, though more convenient to the Savoyard than Sicily, being situated nearer to his Continental dominions, was inferior in size, and far inferior in wealth and population, to the island of which he was to be deprived, Victor Amadeus was to be compensated by the emperor's acknowledgment of the claims of the House of Savoy to the Spanish succession, in case of the failure of Philip's issue—for, upon paper, the emperor now waived his own claims. King Philip was to be allowed three months to accede, and the same indulgence was extended to the Savoyard; but if at the end of that time they rejected the Quadruple Alliance, then the emperor, France, England, and Holland, were to employ their whole force against them. Lord Stanhope went in person to Madrid, in the hope of subduing the stubbornness of Alberoni, by offering, if necessary, to yield the invaluable fortress of Gibraltar, which Stanhope, strange to say, considered as a place "of no great consequence."* But the Spanish armament had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders, before Stanhope arrived in Spain; and the cardinal, while his lordship was on his road to Madrid, received intelligence that the Marquess de Lede had landed his army in the bay of Solanto, driven the Piedmontese viceroy before him, and made a triumphant entrance into Palermo, the Sicilian capital. Stanhope's mission was a complete failure; and it now remained for Byng's cannon to do what his lordship's rhetoric had not been able to accomplish.

The English admiral, by the advice of Count Daun, the Imperial viceroy, sailed away from Naples; but, before he could reach Messina, that weakly defended city fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The strong citadel, however, held out; and it was resolved to make every

* Hardwicke State Papers.

possible effort to relieve the brave garrison in it. To this end, while Byng proceeded by sea, Daun sent an army of Austrians and Neapolitans through Calabria to encamp at Reggio, almost immediately opposite to Messina, and separated from it by the narrow strait.* On the 9th of August Byng entered the strait and came in sight of the city of Messina, whither he despatched his own flag-captain with a message to the Spanish General Lede. Byng proposed a suspension of arms in Sicily for two months, in order that the powers of Europe, who were still negotiating, might have time to concert measures for settling all differences and restoring a lasting peace. The commander of the Spanish army answered that he could not agree to any suspension of arms, whatever proof the courage of his fleet and soldiers might be put to, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize all Sicily for his master the King of Spain. Byng then got his ships in fighting order. He had received intelligence that the Spanish fleet had sailed from the roadstead of Paradiso, close by Messina, the day before his arrival off the strait; and this made him conclude that they had retired to Malta to seek shelter under the tremendous batteries of the Knights of St. John. Byng therefore sailed right into the Straits of Messina, in order to encourage and support the besieged citadel; and, if practicable, to land 2000 German foot which he had brought with him from Naples; but as he turned the point of Faro, towards Messina, he saw before him, in mid-channel, two scouts of the Spanish fleet; and nearly at the same moment he was boarded by a felucca from the Calabrian shore, and informed that the Calabrians from the hills behind Scylla and Reggio saw the whole Spanish fleet lying by, at the other end of the strait, in the direction of Taormina. In an instant Byng altered his design, and, sending away general Wetzell with the German infantry to Reggio under the convoy of two men-of-war, he stood right through the strait with his whole fleet. The day was beautiful, the rapid current of that

* Pietro Colletta, Storia del Reame di Napoli.

narrow sea passage, and the cool strong current of air which always accompanies it, were in his favour, and he glided through, between the high mountains of Calabria and Sicily, with all sails set and flags flying. On either shore—on the hills on either side—on every prominent point in that truly magical scene, Calabrians and Sicilians gathered in crowds, even as their ancestors had done five centuries before, when Richard Cœur de Lion first led the fleet of England through that channel. The two Spanish scouts fled before the English towards their own fleet; and before noon Byng had a fair sight of twenty-seven sail of the line, with fire-ships, bombs, ketches, and seven galleys, drawn up in line of battle, with store-ships and provision-ships between them and the shore. Admiral Castafieta, however, did not choose to keep his position; he slipped into the current, hoisted every sail, and "stood away large." Byng followed closely all the rest of that day: but when they got beyond the influence of the current of the strait their progress was slow; and the wind went down in a dead summer calm, which allowed the Spaniards to make use of their seven galleys and a host of row-boats in towing. The calm lasted during the whole night, but in the morning the regular and unfailing *vento da terra* sprung up, and carried Byng down to Cape Passaro. At ten o'clock he came up with the Spanish admiral, who began the action by firing his stern-chase guns. At about three o'clock the Spanish admiral struck his flag; but the fight—being in good part a running fight—was not ended until sunset. Byng's victory was decisive; and a few days after a squadron which he detached under the command of Captain Walton, destroyed several Spanish ships which had escaped from the battle. Alberoni's fleet, in fact, was all but annihilated at one blow; and the short-lived pride of the Spaniards was succeeded by shame and despondency.*

Coupled with the instruction to destroy the Spanish

* Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, &c.

fleet, Byng had orders to make good, if possible, such a footing in Sicily as might enable England and her allies to land an army there; and that brave and skilful officer did his best to save the citadel and recover the town of Messina. On the 23rd of August he sailed from Syracuse; and on the 26th he arrived at Reggio, where he found General Wetzell with the Austrian and Neapolitan army. Wetzell proposed throwing troops across the strait, into the citadel of Messina, if the English fleet would remain in that water to co-operate. Authorised by his instructions, Byng remained. Yet at the end of the year the Spaniards were masters of the citadel of Messina, and of all Sicily, except Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, in which three places the Duke of Savoy had considerable garrisons. The Spanish army was numerous and well appointed; and the affections of the Sicilians seemed to incline rather to their old masters than to the Savoyards or Germans. The Duke of Savoy, who had been again trimming and again listening to the cajoling voice of Alberoni, saw that in no case could the island be kept by him or would be left to him; and at last he acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, and consented to put the places he held into the hands of the Emperor's troops.

On the 11th of December Charles XII. was killed before the "petty fortress" of Frederickshal, in Norway, and his death put an end to Alberoni's northern intrigues, and to the sundry fears and misgivings in relation to that quarter which had agitated the mind of George I. and his cabinet. A short time before, the Duke of Ormond had been in Russia as plenipotentiary of the Pretender: negotiations between Charles and Peter had been opened, and it had been agreed between those rivals that there should henceforward be peace and unity of purpose between them; that the Czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, and other Swedish territories; that his Swedish majesty should conquer and keep Norway, and also Bremen and Verden; and that both should co-operate for the restoration of King Stanislaus in Poland, and of the House of Stuart in England. But

the musket-ball from the unknown hand that laid the Swedish hero or madman in the grave, destroyed all these schemes. Charles's sister, Ulrica, who ascended the throne, had neither the inclination nor the power to remain at war: the whole ministry and the very form of the monarchy were completely changed; and Gortz, who, more than any one, had framed the project against England, was presently executed on a scaffold. In France there were numerous and increasing discontents against the regent. A part of the nation were incensed at what they called the unnatural alliance between France and England, and a still greater portion inveighed against the terrible profligacy and the immense power of the Abbé Dubois.

A plot was discovered at Paris, which had its ramifications in various parts of France and at Madrid. The object of it was to seize the Duke of Orleans while engaged in some of his orgies, to shut him up in the Bastile, to convoke the States-General, and to proclaim Philip, King of Spain, regent of France, with the Duke of Maine for his deputy. The rash conspirators were betrayed—by means, it is said, of a "distinguished procuress and a young prostitute." The Duke and Duchess of Maine, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many more French were deep in the plot, as were also a number of Jesuits, French as well as Spanish; the Prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris; a son of the Duke Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador in London; and a young Spanish Abbé. The plot, in fact, appears to have been almost entirely of Spanish origin. The Duke of Orleans was a libertine, a sluggard, a gross sensualist, but he was neither cowardly nor cruel; and he contented himself with relegating the Duke of Maine to Dourlans in Picardy, sending the duchess to the castle of Dijon in Burgundy, and exiling from Paris Cardinal Polignac, who had employed his pen in drawing up manifestos and addresses, M. de Pompadoiir, the Count d'Eu, and several others, who had been engaged chiefly by the Duchess of Maine. Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, a principal in the plot, was merely escorted to

the frontiers; and not a drop of blood was shed in an affair which, under almost any other prince, would have furnished ample work for the executioner. Instead of attempting a denial, which would have been useless, Cardinal Alberoni, upon being informed that the game was up and the conspirators prisoners, prevailed upon his master King Philip to issue a manifesto, justifying all the measures that had been taken to overthrow the regency of the Duke of Orleans, which was represented as illegal in its origin and atrocious or dishonourable to France in all its proceedings. Hereupon the French regent regularly declared war against Spain, being supported by a similar declaration on the part of England, which was issued nearly at the same moment, or on the 17th of December.

The British parliament had assembled on the preceding 11th of November, and the anomalous position in which the country stood with relation to Spain had given rise to long and violent debates. Walpole, in the Commons, exclaimed and declaimed with all imaginable vehemence against the whole Quadruple Alliance, and everything which had resulted from it. The late measures, he said, were against the laws of nations, a breach of solemn treaties—treacherous—unpardonable! and ministers, conscious of having done amiss, and of having begun a war with Spain irregularly and unjustifiably, now wanted to screen themselves under a parliamentary sanction. Walpole, however, found himself left in a minority of 155 to 216. And, when the declaration of war fell under discussion, ministers were still more triumphant. Stanhope, who had a greater mind than most of his colleagues, who was from conviction and temperament the friend of religious toleration, and who, moreover, for political purposes had professed himself the friend of the Dissenters, conceived the bold idea of doing away with all religio-political distinctions whatsoever, so as to admit even Roman Catholics to their fair share of the privileges of the constitution. Walpole and the "prince's people," as the partisans of the Prince of Wales were called, were resolved to oppose any scheme of the kind, and hoped

to overthrow the ministry by a new cry of the church in danger: it was known that most, if not all, the Whigs in opposition, disregarding some of the foremost and best principles of their party, would join the Tories and high-churchmen; and therefore it was resolved by Stanhope and Sunderland to leave the repeal of the Test Act to some more favourable opportunity, advising the Dissenters to have patience in the mean time; and on the 13th of December Stanhope brought forward his modified measure in the Lords. It was not called, plainly, an act for the relief of Dissenters, but an act for strengthening the Protestant interest. Its real object was to repeal the intolerant act against Occasional Conformity and the Schism Act, and also such clauses of the Test and Corporation Acts as excluded Protestant dissenters from civil offices. But Stanhope soon found that, between latent bigotry and open political manœuvre, his bill, even modified as it was, would be hard to pass. The question was postponed from the 13th to the 18th, when the bench of bishops took up and supported—almost by themselves—the important debate. With great heat the debate was continued on the 19th, when the second reading of the bill was carried in the Lords by a majority of 86 to 68. Influenced by this large minority, or by a fear of what would happen in the Lower House, ministers consented in committee to strike out all the clauses which referred to the Test and Corporation Acts. Thus mutilated, Stanhope's bill was sent down to the Commons, where it was opposed by Walpole and his friends, and where it was passed by a majority of no more than 243 to 202.

A.D. 1719.—In the month of March a bill, generally attributed to Sunderland, was brought into the Lords, "to settle and limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six of the present number, which, upon failure of issue male, might be supplied by new creations; that instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male,

should be supplied from the other members of the Scotch peerage. This looked like depriving the crown of its important prerogative of making peers at will; but George, it is said, went into it in order to take vengeance upon his son the Prince of Wales, and to weaken his party; while Sunderland, who had offended the Prince of Wales beyond hope of pardon or reconciliation, was also anxious to restrain the power of that prince when he came to the throne. The bill was twice read, indeed, without a division; but, on the day appointed for the third reading, Stanhope stood up to give it its quietus, by observing "that, the bill having made a great noise and raised strange apprehensions, and since the design of it had been so much misrepresented and misunderstood that it was likely to meet with great opposition in the other House, he thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity." Sunderland declared that this Peerage Bill had originated with the king rather than with the ministers; that the king wished well to the constitution and to the country, and, therefore, was anxious to limit the future government of his son, who was rash and headstrong, and quite capable of doing mad things. In a long conversation he held with Middleton, the chancellor of Ireland, who had refused to support the bill, Sunderland was so excited that the blood gushed from his nose. On the 18th of April parliament was prorogued; and early in May the king, accompanied by Stanhope, set off for his Continental dominions.

As Cardinal Alberoni had utterly failed in France, and as he had lost his mad hero Charles XII., he determined to take up with the Pretender, who had been passing his time pleasantly enough in Italy, residing alternately at Rome and Urbino. He had lately contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina, granddaughter of the heroic John Sobieski, King of Poland; but, as that princess was on her way to Italy to join her betrothed, she was arrested by the emperor's orders in the Tyrol, and detained in the emperor's castle of Inspruck. This was base and dishonourable in the

emperor who did it, and scarcely less so in the English government that asked it.

The Pretender appears to have been apprehensive for his own liberty, as the Austrians had now the complete ascendancy in the Italian peninsula, and as the English fleet was riding victorious off its shores, when he received and accepted the invitation of Alberoni to go into Spain. To delude the Austrians, he pretended to set out for Tuscany and Lombardy, as if he were going to make the whole journey by land; but in reality he lay concealed in the Papal States, while the Earls of Mar and Perth, with a part of his suite, crossed the Apennines and went into the emperor's dominions of Lombardy. The two lords were presently seized and made fast in the castle of Milan; and, as people there had not the felicity of being acquainted with the person and face of the Stuart, it was reported and believed that they had got the Pretender. Lord Stair joyfully announced from Paris to the ministers in London that this was the case; and then, while he was believed to be in an Austrian dungeon at Milan, where many a better man has pined away, the Pretender slipped down to the Pope's little port of Nettuno, near the mouth of the Tiber, and got secretly on board a vessel which carried him safely to the coast of Catalonia. There the fugitive threw off his disguise; and at Madrid he was received most royally as legitimate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. The palace of Buen Retiro was allotted for his residence, and he received the visits of Philip and his queen and all the grandees that had not quarrelled with the cardinal. Before James arrived at Madrid the Duke of Ormond, disguised as a valet, had crossed the Pyrenees, to take the command of a formidable armament which the cardinal had prepared at Cadiz for the purpose of invading England and enthroning the Pretender! The last time Ormond had been in Spain was with an English fleet and army to storm Vigo and bombard Cadiz for Queen Anne! Madrid and Cadiz were crowded with Scottish and English exiles, who hoped to retrieve the misfortunes of

1715, but who seem to have been divided in opinion as to whether the Pretender should go with them or stay behind till they should make his path easy. But at last it was determined that James should stay in Spain, and that Ormond should have the undivided command. In the meanwhile the Abbé Dubois had obtained full and precise information as to all these Spanish schemes, and by the command of the regent he had imparted all his discoveries to Stanhope, together with the offer of some French troops. The English government politely declined receiving the French, but they accepted and brought over six battalions of Austrians from the Netherlands and 2000 Dutch. A good squadron of ships was put to sea to secure the Channel; the few English troops were cantoned in the most Jacobite districts in the North and West; both Houses of Parliament, which was then sitting, assured the king of their loyalty and determination to support him to the extent of their lives and fortunes; and a proclamation was issued offering 10,000*l.* for the apprehension of the traitor Ormond, the commander of the Spanish army of invasion. As the Scots had paid rather dearly for their rising in "the fifteen," a resolution had been universally taken not to move in Scotland till England was fairly engaged;* but upon the 16th of April two frigates put into the port of Kintail, in Ross-shire, landed about 300 Spanish soldiers, a few gentlemen, and some arms, and then instantly left the coast and put out to sea. Among the gentlemen were the Earls Marshal and Seaforth and the Marquess of Tullibardine, who concealed themselves in the country to await the arrival of the Duke of Ormond in England. But Ormond never came: a storm in the Bay of Biscay had driven him back to Spain, and had entirely frustrated Alberoni's expedition. Many of the ships were lost; others were saved by throwing overboard the guns, the stands of arms, the horses and the stores provided for the campaign; and of five ships of the line and twenty transports, and five thousand soldiers, partly Irish, only the two frigates and the three hundred men with the

* Lockhart, Memoirs.

Earl Marshal ever reached the British coast. But if they had all come they would only have come to destruction. While the Earl Marshal and the Marquess of Tullibardine lay close at Kintail, Lord Seaforth, in disguise, ventured up the country to confer with some of the Highland clans; and some hard-drinking Jacobite lords saw in their cups Ormond's fleet, which had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, or back to the Spanish ports, riding triumphantly on the coast of Scotland: but sleep and daylight dissipated this vision; and, as some of the Highlanders had begun to muster, and had taken one or two insignificant places, the government, which at first had thought that the two Spanish frigates had carried back in them all the persons and things they had brought, became aware that there was an enemy in the land, and that some of the Jacobite lords had not gone back to Spain. Upon this discovery, some English ships of war were brought down to the coast, and General Wightman, with about a thousand men, moved from Inverness in quest of the insurgents, whom he soon found advantageously posted at Glenshiel. They were estimated at two thousand men; but Wightman, relying on the discipline of his troops, fell upon them on the evening of the 10th of June, the Pretender's birth-day, and gave them a complete defeat. The light-footed Highlanders dispersed and ran home to their mountains; the three hundred Spaniards, who kept together, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The Earl Marshal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine were fortunate enough to escape with their clans from the field of battle; and they, with other persons of note, remained lurking in the Highlands till ships were provided to carry them back to Spain.

Cardinal Alberoni, seeing that this card had failed him, was anxious to get the Pretender back to Rome as soon as possible; for his stay at Madrid was rather costly, and it might also tend to embarrass negotiations if the cardinal should be obliged to lay down the sword and trust to diplomacy. Fortunately for him there arrived news that the captive bride, the Princess Clementina Sobieski, had escaped disguised as a servant-maid from

Inspruck, and had reached in safety the pope's city of Bologna; and upon this news the Stuart took leave of the cardinal and Spanish court, and returned to Italy to complete his marriage.

As France had made a regular declaration of war against Spain, it was necessary for the regent to exert himself, and, if he did no more, to secure his frontier on the side of the Pyrenees. He had, in effect, raised an army of 30,000 men to serve in that quarter; and, upon the refusal of old Marshal Villars, he had given the command of it to the Duke of Berwick, the half-brother of the Pretender, the victor of Almanza, the real hero, on the Bourbon side, of the war of the succession in Spain, and then the highly-prized and apparently most devoted servant of his majesty King Philip.

While Berwick was lying on the frontier, King Philip put himself at the head of a very indifferent Spanish army—the best of his forces were in Sicily and Sardinia—and advanced to the Pyrenees. Philip was no soldier; he was not even gifted with the very common attribute of personal courage; but he fondly fancied that there would be no fighting, that the French army under Berwick would desert, and join him as their rightful regent, and the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV.: and for this purpose he had come to the army with his queen, his young son, his prime minister the cardinal, and a good stock of manifestos and proclamations to the French soldiery. But these proclamations, when dispersed in Berwick's camp, failed of their effect; and instead of going over to Philip, the French troops began to take his towns and castles almost under his eye. No part of Spain had displayed such activity and energy in seconding the great maritime schemes of the cardinal as the industrious Biscayan provinces. At every port on that coast ships had been built, or were in process of building. All this had been watched with a jealous eye by the French as well as by the English, and an important part of Berwick's instructions was that he should destroy these dock-yards and arsenals. Colonel William Stanhope, who had been sent on a mission to Berwick's army, ac-

companied a detachment of it to Port Passages, serving as a volunteer, and had the satisfaction of seeing one new ship of 70 guns, two of 60 guns, and some other vessels recently built, together with a vast quantity of timber and naval stores, burnt to ashes. The French then invested Fuenterabia, which surrendered on the 18th of June. An English squadron was co-operating on the coast; and now it took on board about a thousand French soldiers, and sailed for Santona, where three fine new ships of the line were on the stocks, and where materials were collected for the building of seven more. The French soldiers and the English sailors landed together, and in a few hours everything was destroyed. The loss of the Spaniards in money alone was estimated at millions of dollars; but the moral loss and depression was still more important. Berwick carried the strong town of St. Sebastian on the 2nd of August, and compelled the citadel to surrender on the 17th of the same month. Philip in the meanwhile had taken the road to Madrid, helpless and hopeless. The whole of Guipuscoa was occupied or overrun; and the states of that province, incensed by innovations on their ancient laws and usages, and by arbitrary attempts made by Alberoni to assimilate the Biscayan provinces with the rest of Spain, offered to acknowledge the dominion of the French upon condition of security to their ancient rights and liberties. In another direction the French continued their conquests without interruption: they entered Catalonia, took several forts, and made an attempt upon Rosas. Nor was the British fleet idle in other quarters; in the end of September a strong squadron with 4000 troops on board, commanded by Lord Cobham, appeared off Corunna, to take vengeance on that port, from which Ormond had sailed with his unfortunate expedition. Corunna, however, seemed too well defended, and Cobham ran along the coast to Vigo, where many of Ormond's stores still remained. The British troops landed at three miles from the town, and encountered no enemy except a body of peasants who fired from the hills without coming near enough to hit or to be hit. The garrison of Vigo spiked

their guns in the town and retired into the citadel, where they were compelled to surrender by the middle of October. Cobham found 43 pieces of ordnance, 8000 muskets, 2000 barrels of powder, and seven sloops, which were all seized and carried off. The neighbouring towns and little seaports were also sacked by the troops, who "abused themselves much with wine;" and then this "important and secret expedition," as it had been called, returned to England. As so much had been said about it, the cardinal seems to have expected that it was really destined to occupy whole provinces or kingdoms! In Sicily, for which everything had been sacrificed, the course of the war was equally unfavourable to Spain, and the services of the British navy much more conspicuous. Admiral Sir George Byng continued to act as sailor, soldier, diplomatist, statesman, and in each and all of these capacities he displayed a remarkable degree of ability. He reconciled the jealousies and quarrels which broke out among the wrongheaded generals whom the emperor had sent to drive the Spaniards out of the island; he framed himself the best plans for their operations; he supplied them with provisions when their troops were famishing; he kept open their communications by sea; wherever he could, he co-operated with them on the coast; and to forward their enterprise he or some of his fleet was constantly traversing the Mediterranean from Sicily to Naples, from Naples to the Barbary coast or to Malta, or downward to Port Mahon and the Spanish shores. The fate of the war was indeed in the hands of Byng and his sailors: the Austrians could scarcely find a mouthful of bread in the interior of Sicily; and they had hardly any ammunition except what was given to them by the English fleet. The admiral's incessant anxieties and fatigues in the great heat of summer brought on what seemed at first a dangerous illness. His last leave-taking of Count Gallas, the emperor's viceroy at Naples, was striking. The admiral was eager to return to Sicily, where his assistance was much needed; he was ill of a fever, and the viceroy was dying of malaria. Unable to walk, and

scarcely able to stand, Byng caused himself to be carried to the bedside of Count Gallas, and there they held a short conference as to the best means of carrying on the Sicilian war, and then bade each other farewell. The viceroy died in two days; but the sea-voyage restored the admiral to health. Shortly after Byng's return to Messina, the Spaniards retired into the citadel, and the town people threw open their gates to the Austrians. As soon as the city was taken, Byng landed some English sailors and grenadiers, who took the tower of the Faro, and opened a free passage for his ships. The admiral then came round to anchor almost at the mouth of the fine harbour of Messina, where he saw the Spanish men-of-war striking their masts and removing their rigging. It was quite clear that these Spanish ships could never get to sea; but they were, nevertheless, well nigh being the cause of mischief to the allies. The case was curious:—an officer of the Duke of Savoy, whom we may henceforth call by his new and lasting title of King of Sardinia, claimed for his master two of the best ships which had formerly belonged to him, and which had been seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo: Byng, on the other hand, declared that he could not think the King of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them; that the ships had been taken by the Spaniards, had been fitted out and armed at their expense, and had fought under their colours; that even now they could and would most assuredly put out to sea, if the English fleet did not hinder them; and that he could not consider them in any other light than as the ships of an enemy, that were, or at least presently would be, his fair prize. But while these conflicting claims were irreconcilable, de Mercy put in a third claim for his master, the emperor, pretending that, as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his master's arms, they must, according to the law of nations, belong to his imperial majesty. To this claim of the Austrian general the English admiral replied that, if it had not been for his two squadrons which he had employed on purpose and at a great hazard, there could have been no blockade

of Messina, and there would have been no ships at all within the port to dispute about; adding that, if, even now, he were to withdraw his fleet, the Spaniards would be able to get to sea and out of the reach of the emperor's land forces; though he (Byng) with his ships would, in that case, have a good chance of falling in with them and capturing them all. Both Savoyards and Austrians, however, stuck to their claim; and the English admiral reflected that, possibly, the Spanish garrison in the citadel of Messina might capitulate for the safe return of those ships to Spain, "*which he was determined never to suffer*"—that the right of possession might lead to very inconvenient disputes, and that, if it should turn out "that they did not belong to England, *it were better they belonged to nobody*:" and, as the proper undoing of this Gordian knot, he proposed to de Mercy to set up a good battery and destroy the ships in the harbour as they lay. The general did not like this plan, and wanted time to write to Vienna for instructions; but the admiral, with some heat, assured him that no instructions were wanting to destroy everything that belonged to the enemy; and he insisted so firmly, that de Mercy, notwithstanding the representations and protests of the King of Sardinia's agent, consented to the erecting of a terrible battery, which, in a brief space of time, sunk and destroyed the much-disputed ships, and completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain. Five days after the surrender of the city, the port of Castellazzo and the old Norman castle of Matta-Griffone were reduced by the Imperialists, aided by the British sailors and grenadiers. But the strong citadel was exceedingly well provided, the Germans were slow in their operations, and everything seemed to promise a long siege. In many cases Byng in this war anticipated the exploits which Nelson performed in the same sea during the early part of the war of the French Revolution. The difficulties, the obstructions, the apathy of the people, and the inertness and corruption of governments, were nearly the same in 1719 as in 1799. De Mercy, the emperor's general, had no proper siege artillery with

him. Byng returned to Naples to procure guns there. The new viceroy, instead of being a soldier, like Count Gallas, was a priest—and a priest totally unacquainted with business of any kind. He told the English admiral that there was no artillery or ammunition to spare at Naples; that he would send to Mantua for some cannon, which might be transported down the Po into the Adriatic, and so round by sea to Messina, where, possibly, if no cross accidents happened, they might arrive in *two months' time*. Byng happened to know that these cannon at Mantua were unprovided with carriages; but the cardinal thought to make him easy on this point by telling him that he would send some carpenters up into the forests of Abruzzo to cut down timber for gun-carriages. The viceroy, however, called together a number of Neapolitan and German officers, and bade them consult and do their best with Byng. These officers said that guns were guns at Naples, and not to be risked in Sicily. The English admiral told them that de Mercy had not above twenty cannon in battery; that he was within two hundred paces of the counter-scarp of the citadel of Messina, and would certainly be forced to stop for want of necessary supplies. At last he told them that he would be contented if they could but send ten or twelve cannon, with a proportionate quantity of powder and ball. The Neapolitan who had charge of the ordnance said that perhaps eight guns might be spared from the mole and battery in that city; but, upon inquiry, Byng found that these guns were fifty and sixty pounders; some without ball to fit them, others without carriages, and all of them unwieldy and unfit for battery! And, upon further examination, the general officers assembled declared, one and all, that the whole kingdom of Naples could not furnish the paltry supply of cannon and ammunition which de Mercy wanted. "This," says the narrator of these events, who we believe was one of Byng's sons, "was such a declaration of weakness as was not to be expected in so fine a kingdom." As the only resource, the British admiral stripped his Spanish prizes; sent de Mercy twenty-four eighteen

pounders, with powder and shot; and wrote to Genoa and Leghorn to purchase a thousand barrels more powder, engaging his own credit for the payment. In other directions Byng had to contend with obstinacy, stupidity, and corruption, and to deplore "that his good intentions were ill seconded by the sloth or knavery of the emperor's commissaries." The temper with which he bore these disappointments and mortifications was truly admirable and rare. But for him the siege of Messina must have been given up, and the besieging army starved. Having at last procured provisions and reinforcements, the admiral, on the 8th of October, arrived before Messina, which so elevated the spirits of the besiegers that they instantly attacked a half-moon and carried it. Byng landed while this work was doing, and was received with infinite joy by de Mercy and his troops. The siege was prosecuted with vigour. On the 18th the governor of the citadel, who had acquitted himself with great honour, beat a parley, and surrendered upon articles; on the 19th the emperor's grenadiers marched in and took possession of a gate of the citadel; and on the 21st the brave Spanish garrison marched out through the breach, and were transported by sea, under an English convoy, to Augusta. And thus ended the siege of Messina, which had lasted three months, and which had occasioned the Germans a tremendous loss in killed and wounded. The Spanish army under the Marquess Lede fortified themselves in a strong and advantageous post at Castro Giovanni, in the centre of the island.

The Imperialists could not or would not move from Messina, in full force, until the month of January; nor would they have moved then but for the English admiral. Lede and his Spaniards retired within the walls of Palermo, where they must have been reduced to a capitulation if the Imperialists had only been a little more active and daring.

But while these events were in progress in Sicily, Alberoni, the father of the expedition as of the war, had been thrown from his high post in Spain. That very

remarkable churchman was soon convinced that he had embarked in schemes which far exceeded the power and the means of Spain; but he had the honour of the country at heart, and a spirit that revolted at the idea of sneaking meanly out of a conflict which he had provoked. When the arms of Spain were yet in a hopeful posture in Sicily, he signified that he was ready to consent to a peace upon fair conditions; and he sent his countryman, the Marquess Scotti, on a mission to Paris and the Hague. Scotti told the French regent that Spain wished to appoint the States-General her mediators, and that she would relinquish both Sicily and Sardinia if the French would restore the conquests they had made in her Biscayan provinces, and if the English would give up Gibraltar and Port Mahon. The Duke of Orleans, in reply, told Scotti that he could do nothing without consulting his allies the emperor and the king of England. The Abbé Dubois wrote instantly to Stanhope, who was with King George at Hanover. Stanhope had himself gone to Madrid with the offer of restoring Gibraltar, but he was now resolved that nothing should be restored and nothing done in the way of peace, until Alberoni was removed from the ministry. "We must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace," says Stanhope in his answer to Dubois, "for, as his unbounded ambition has been the sole cause of the war which he undertook in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and in breach of the most solemn promises, if he is compelled to accept peace, he will only yield to necessity, with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of vengeance. It is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success. . . . . Let us, therefore, exact from Philip his dismissal from Spain." A prince of spirit would have risked twenty battles rather than submit to this dictation; but Philip, almost as soon as it was known that he might purchase a peace by sacrificing his minister, made up his mind to that price. As for the grandees of Spain, they

had long been incensed at the rule of the son of an Italian gardener. The king's confessor, the lord chamberlain, the courtiers of all degrees and of both sexes (the ladies were particularly incensed by the cardinal's economy in the palace), united in one general and sincere effort to work his ruin; but it was an English lord—the strangest of all our many eccentric peers—and the regent of France that struck the decisive blow. Lord Peterborough, who had again put on his travelling boots, and who was determined to do something in great state affairs, though he was neither employed nor trusted by the English government, had entered during the preceding summer into a private correspondence with the Duke of Parma, uncle of the Queen of Spain, and this correspondence had led to an invitation to the court at Parma. Peterborough, whose object it was to induce the duke to use his influence with his niece, who had always been Alberoni's warmest friend, to make her abandon that minister, declined going in person to the duke's court, but agreed to meet a private agent from Parma in the little town of Novi, at the foot of the Bocchetta, between Genoa and Turin; and in consequence of this meeting the Duke of Parma actually wrote pressing letters to his niece the Queen of Spain for the removal of the cardinal, as being the great obstacle to the peace of Europe and the greatest enemy of Spain. Almost at the same moment the French regent bribed Alberoni's agent, the Marquess Scotti, with 50,000 crowns, and sent him back to Madrid to intrigue against his countryman, his friend, and employer. If the war in Sicily had been more successful, the cardinal might perhaps have been spared a little longer; but the capture of the citadel of Messina, the occupation of Trapani, the fears entertained for Palermo, and every article of news that arrived from that country seemed to prove to the Spaniards that they had made enormous efforts only to sacrifice and throw away the finest fleet and army they had possessed for many a year; and even the highest-minded among them, who had clung to the cardinal as a minister likely to regenerate Spain and rouse her from her long slumbers, now began to renounce him as a

rash and unlucky man. On the evening of the 4th of December he transacted business as usual with Philip, and the king treated him with his usual kindness and consideration; but on the very next morning he was by a royal decree dismissed from all his employments, and commanded to leave Madrid in eight days, and the territory of Spain within twenty-one. He endeavoured to obtain an audience of the king or the queen, to justify his conduct with ministers and public men; but neither the king nor the queen would receive him, nor would the public men listen to him with a decent show of patience. The cardinal, therefore, took the road back to his native country, and quitted Spain for ever, within the time prescribed by the royal decree, a poorer man than when he entered it, and pursued insidiously, and, as they hoped, to his utter destruction, by the court he had served.

A.D. 1720.—Philip now hoped that he had dissipated the jealousies and apprehensions of the allies, and that he should obtain favourable terms of peace; but he continued to refuse his accession to the Quadruple Alliance, and on the 19th of January (1720) a declaration was signed at Paris not to admit of any conditions contrary to the sense of that treaty. This declaration, aided by artful representations made by the Marquess Scotti and other intriguers in the pay of Dubois and Stanhope, prevailed over the Queen of Spain; and she, as usual, prevailed upon her husband, who, before the end of the month, issued a decree announcing his intention to accede to the Quadruple Alliance. Philip, however, declared that he was thus making a sacrifice of his rights and possessions; and it was agreed beforehand that some of these his claims should be discussed at a congress to be held as soon as convenient at Cambray. He solemnly renewed his renunciation of the French crown, and promised to evacuate both Sardinia and Sicily within two months.

A courier despatched from Paris by Lord Stair informed Sir George Byng of most of these circumstances; and de Mercy received a despatch from the emperor's minister, acquainting him that Spain had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance. The English admiral and the Austrian general

had a conference with Lede, who still remained in a hostile attitude at Alcamo and Palermo. Lede confessed that he knew the king his master had signed the Quadruple Alliance, and he added that he did not doubt of his sincere intention of evacuating Sicily; but he declared at the same time that he had received no positive orders from Spain. During the debate one of the English ships cruising off Palermo took a felucca with packets of letters from Spain to Lede; and Byng, seeing the King of Spain's seal upon the letters, generously sent them unopened to the Spanish general, and liberated the felucca and crew. Immediately after the conference Byng returned to his fleet at Trapani, and de Mercy marched towards Alcamo with the resolution of attacking the Spaniards. The Imperialist reached Alcamo on the 8th of April; but Lede had retreated the night before, leaving some of his sick behind him, and scarcely resting till he got between the heights of Monreale and the city of Palermo. De Mercy instantly determined to invest Palermo. Byng readily agreed to coast along the shore, to furnish provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, and to co-operate with the land army as though his fleet were its left wing. On the 18th of April both fleet and army were in motion, and de Mercy got as far as Scala di Partenico, near the foot of the Monreale heights, where he found that Lede had fortified the passes that led through the hills or round by the sea-shore into the narrow but beautiful plain of Palermo. He then divided the Imperialists into two bodies, sending one round to the sea-side with orders to force the pass of Sferra Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain of Palermo, whilst he himself with the rest of the army ascended the difficult mountains near Carina, in order to get down that way into the same plain. In the meanwhile Byng had come to anchor off Mondello at the head of the bay of Palermo, and had taken possession of the tower and landing-place there. He had also landed some of his men, who established a communication between the shipping and de Mercy's camp. Lede now withdrew under the walls of Palermo, ranging his troops across the plain with their

left to Monte Caputo, and their right on the sea near the mole-head: the Spaniards were thus in a manner covered with the cannon of the city, and they had strong intrenchments in their front, lined with forty pieces of artillery. They were well provided with all things, and seemed determined to stand the chance of a battle. De Mercy encamped on the same plain in their front and within a mile and a half distance. Lede, who left nothing untried, and who seems up to the last moment to have been most reluctant to leave that fair island, sent off one of his aides-de-camp with a letter to Admiral Byng, enclosing a Spanish gazette, which published a treaty of suspension of arms *at sea*, concluded at the Hague between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and which had commenced on the 10th instant; and, as it was now the 22nd, Lede insisted that the English fleet ought to cease hostilities on the instant. But Byng replied that he could give no regard or credit to a pretended convention published in a foreign newspaper; that the time for *beginning* the evacuation of Sicily was elapsed, and that he could not separate himself from the emperor's army until the Spaniards were more compliant. De Mercy then determined to bring on a general engagement in front of Palermo as soon as possible. Byng co-operated most vigorously by detaching three ships to cannonade the posts on the sea-side, where the Spaniards were soon driven from their guns. Several sanguinary attacks were subsequently made along the Spanish lines; and on the 2nd of May, while the Spanish guards were taking their *siesto*, the Germans surprised a redoubt, entered it without firing a shot, and pushed the Spaniards out at the point of the bayonet. This redoubt, though so badly guarded, commanded the whole of the Spanish line, and Lede resolved to retake it at any cost. On the other hand, de Mercy was quite as resolute to keep the point; and both armies were in motion, and on the very point of engaging in a great and decisive battle, when a little felucca shot into the bay and landed a courier from Spain with positive orders to Lede to agree about the evacuation and the transportation of the army into Spain.

Nothing now remained to be done in the Mediterranean, but to put the Duke of Savoy in possession of Sardinia. In this operation the English admiral played a principal part, and at the instance of the court of Turin, he did not leave that island until he had seen the whole treaty of surrender fully executed, the Spanish troops returned into Spain, and his majesty of Sardinia quietly possessed of this his new kingdom.*

The Quadruple Alliance and the friendly union of France and England gave a twelve years' peace to Europe. A storm, provoked in the north partly through the predilections of King George for Continental possessions, had necessitated the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, and at one moment had threatened a fierce war between England and Russia. The new Queen of Sweden had gladly concluded a peace by yielding Bremen and Verden to the King of England, or rather to the Elector of Hanover, and Stetten and some other places to the King of Prussia. But the Czar Peter and the King of Denmark sought the total ruin and dismemberment of the Swedish monarchy. The English king and the French regent united their pacific efforts, and offered themselves as mediators; but Peter received their overtures with rudeness; and as he was strongest on the Baltic he scoured those seas and committed frightful ravages on the Swedish coast. As an English ambassador—Lord Carteret—could make no impression on Peter, it was resolved to try what an English admiral could do; and Sir John Norris was despatched to the Baltic with eleven sail of the line to protect the Queen of Sweden, who had thrown herself upon the protection and generosity of England. Norris joined the Swedish men-of-war at Carlscroon, and proceeded in search of the Russians. If his Danish majesty had been bold enough to join his ships with those of the Czar, a combat might have been a very serious affair to England, and of doubtful issue; but he had neither faith in nor affection for

* Account of the expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, &c. Collected from the Admiral's MSS.

his ally; and he not only withdrew his fleet, but entered into negotiations with England and Sweden. Peter had then the good sense to recall his fleet with all possible haste; by which he probably saved *his* infant navy from entire destruction. The King of Denmark accepted a sum of money as an equivalent for the conquests he had made or was making; and, with the exception of the Czar Peter, all her enemies made peace with the Queen of Sweden, in terror of the arms of England and France, who, in the words of the treaty, had bound themselves and their allies to contribute "*ad coercendum Czarum Russiæ!*" All the recent transactions in the North were severely criticised in England, because the negotiations had been principally entrusted to Hanoverian ministers and favourites, and because they bound George to a complicated system of alliances and guarantees.

The king had returned to London in the autumn of the preceding year (1719), and had opened the parliament on the 23rd of November. Two days after the commencement of the session the bill for limiting the peerage was again introduced; the king having strongly recommended the passing of it in his speech, and having urged parliament particularly to secure that part of the constitution which was most liable to abuse. Lord Cowper, more decided than ever in his opposition, said, "that, besides the reasons which induced him last session to oppose the bill, another now existed equal in weight to all the rest; and that was the earnestness with which it was recommended. Precipitation was always dangerous, and in many cases suspicious; and he could not help being of opinion that, if there were no secret meaning in this bill, it would not be pressed upon the House in this extraordinary manner." Sunderland inveighed against this insinuation, protested the singleness and integrity of his own motives, and declared that the bill was favourable to the honour and dignity of the peerage, and so ought to pass that House. As no one rejoined—as Cowper was left alone—the bill *was* passed on the 30th of November, and sent down to the Commons on the 1st of December (1719). During the

recess Walpole had called a meeting of the leaders of the Whigs in opposition at Devonshire House, and had endeavoured to organise a resistance to the bill in both Houses. But he had found that several of the Whig peers, though in opposition, secretly favoured a measure which would increase their importance; whilst others, commoners as well as peers, had declared that it would be inconsistent in them, as Whigs, to object to a bill which tended to prevent the repetition of an abuse of prerogative (the sudden making of peers for a given purpose) against which they had so often arrayed themselves in the Tory times: and, at this Devonshire House meeting, many of those who disliked the bill as much as Walpole did had declared that they would only expose themselves to defeat and to a lamentable exhibition of weakness as a party, if they attempted to throw it out of the House. But Walpole, who was never easily moved from his purpose, and who well knew how odious the bill was to many rich country gentlemen and ladies, persisted in recommending a trial of strength upon it, assuring the meeting that he would put it in such a light as to excite the indignation of every independent commoner. He told them that he had already overheard a country gentleman, a member of the Lower House, who possessed an estate of not more than 800*l.* a-year, declare, with great warmth, that, although he had no chance of being made a peer himself, yet he would never consent to the injustice of giving a perpetual exclusion to his family from the honours of the peerage. This sentiment Walpole insisted would have a strong effect upon the whole body of country gentlemen; he declared that if his party deserted him on this question he would stand forth single-handed against it; and, in the end, though the Whig lords gave him little to hope, he prevailed upon his party in the Commons to agree that an opposition should be made in that House.* Accordingly, when this memorable bill came to be read a second time in the Commons, on the 8th of December, Sir John Packington,

* Coxe.—Speaker Onslow.

Sir Richard Steele, Methuen, Smith, and others joined Walpole in denouncing it as invidious, treacherous, and dangerous. Walpole hardly ever indulged in metaphorical display, his speeches being as plain and unornamental as a *compte rendu;* but on this occasion his speech was highly figurative and enriched with classical allusion. He said, in the opening of his speech—"Among the Romans, the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour, but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." "When," he continued, "great alterations in the constitution are to be made, the experiment should be tried for a short time, before the proposed change is finally carried into execution, lest it should produce evil instead of good; but, in this case, when the bill is once sanctioned by parliament, there can be no future hopes of redress, because the Upper House will always oppose the repeal of an act which has so considerably increased their power. The great unanimity with which this bill has passed the Lords ought to inspire some jealously in the Commons; for it must be obvious that whatever the Lords gain must be acquired at the loss of the Commons, and the diminution of the regal prerogative; and that, in all disputes between the Lords and Commons, when the House of Lords is immutable, the Commons must, sooner or later, be obliged to recede. . . . . The principal argument on which the necessity of it is founded is drawn from the mischief occasioned by the creation of twelve peers during the reign of Queen Anne, for the purpose of carrying an infamous peace through the House of Lords: that was only a temporary measure, whereas the mischief to be occasioned by this bill will be perpetual. It creates thirty-one peers by authority of parliament: so extraordinary a step cannot be supposed to be taken without some sinister design in future. The ministry want no

additional strength in the House of Lords for conducting the common affairs of government, as is sufficiently proved by the unanimity with which they have carried through this bill. If, therefore, they think it necessary to acquire additional strength, it must be done with views and intentions more extravagant and hostile to the constitution than any which have yet been attempted. The bill itself is of a most insidious and artful nature." The Scottish peerage had merited a terrible rebuke by their general political baseness and subservience to all ministries—and they got it. "The sixteen elective Scotch peers already admit themselves to be *a dead court weight*, yet the same sixteen are now to be made hereditary, and nine added to their number. These twenty-five, under the influence of corrupt ministers, might find their account in betraying their trust." After declaring that the bill would make the Lords masters of the king, and shut up the door of honour to the rest of the nation, Walpole said—"If the pretence for this measure is, that it will tend to secure the freedom of parliament, I say that there are many other steps more important and less equivocal, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions. That this bill will secure the liberty of parliament I totally deny: it will secure a great preponderance to the peers; it will form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx, by giving them the power to exclude, in all cases of extinction and creation, all such persons from their body as may be obnoxious to them." Steele also delivered a remarkable speech against the bill, which, indisputably, would have brought more dangers to the constitution than it could have removed from it. Walpole, in the words of Speaker Onslow, "bore down everything before him." The bill was rejected by a majority of 269 against 177.

It was during this session of parliament that the memorable South Sea Company Bill received the royal assent. Nine years before the date at which we are arrived, Harley, in the straits and difficulties in which he found himself by the decline of public credit consequent on the sudden dismission of the Whigs, formed a project

which was called his master-piece. He found that the floating debt of the nation amounted to about ten millions, and to settle a fund for paying the interest of 6 per cent., he rendered permanent all the duties upon wines, vinegar, tobacco, India goods, wrought silks, whale-fins, and some other commodities; and to allure the creditors with the hopes of inestimable advantages from a monopoly of the trade to the South Sea, he proposed that the proprietors of this funded debt, or those to whom the money was owing by the nation, should form themselves into a company to be called "The South Sea Company." The project took wonderfully with the holders of the debentures and capitalists, and under the auspices of the ministry they were incorporated by act of parliament as the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America. But the Bourbon Philip, who was allowed by the peace of Utrecht to retain Spain and the Indies, was far too jealous to admit the British to a free trade in the South Seas, or to any part of his dominions; and all that the Company obtained was the nationally dishonouring Assiento or contract by which they had the privilege of supplying Spanish America with negroes torn from Africa, for thirty years to come, with permission to send one ship annually with a cargo of goods for sale—which privileges had been secured to England at the peace of Utrecht, and were now made over to the new company by the government. But circumstances occurred which prevented the South Sea Company from reaping any advantages even from this foul monopoly in human flesh and this limited adventure in goods. Their first annual ship did not sail till 1717, and the very next year the trade was suppressed in consequence of Byng's operations in the Mediterranean and the open war with Spain, which led to the total suppression of the factories of the company and the seizure and detention of their servants. We were now, indeed, at peace with Spain, but the commercial jealousies of that country remained unaltered and unalterable; and, unless by way of conquest and permanent occupation, there was scarcely a hope of securing

any considerable share of the advantages of a trade in the South Seas and with her colonies; or, rather, there was no hope of being able to make a trade—for, under the miserable system which had been pursued, all commerce had remained stinted, or had died away of an atrophy, the mother-country herself deriving the least possible advantages from the rich regions she possessed, and the representing to the letter the fable of the dog in the manger. Yet, with these certainties before them, with a blindness even greater than that of the enthusiastic theorist Paterson, British ministers now conceived that the South Sea Company might, by an extending trade, pay off in a trice all the national incumbrances, which in reality, were only to be cleared off by slow degrees by an inviolable sinking-fund. Sir John Blunt, a leading South Sea director, a financier well read in the school of Law and Paterson, exhibited the many advantages which would result from consolidating all the funds into one; and he persuaded Stanhope, Sunderland, and Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, that his company could do the business of the government and the nation in the surest and best manner. The great object was to get rid of the irredeemable annuities which had been granted in the two last reigns, mostly for terms of ninety-nine years, and which amounted at present to nearly 800,000*l.* a-year; and Blunt and his company undertook to do this, and to liquidate the entire national debt in the course of twenty-six years, provided only that all the different public securities were reduced to one aggregate fund in their hands, that they were vested with certain commercial privileges, and authorised to take in by purchase or subscription both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. Aislabie, as chancellor of the exchequer, opened this business in the Commons in the month of February, and declared that, if the proposal was accepted, the prosperity of the nation would be marvellously increased and all her debts be paid. Secretary Craggs was equally sanguine, and thought that every member of the House must

be ready and willing to embrace the proposal which had been explained to them in so clear and intelligible a manner by the chancellor of the exchequer. But when there had been a doubting silence for nearly a quarter of an hour, Mr. Thomas Broderick, member for Stockbridge, ventured to say that he quite agreed with ministers; that until the national debt was discharged, or at least in a fair way of being so, we were not to expect to make the figure we formerly had made,—that, till this was done, we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation; but that it was to be hoped that, in order to obtain the best bargain for the nation, every other company, or any other society of men, might be at liberty to deliver in their proposals. Ministers, who had closed with Blunt and the South Sea Company before bringing the matter under discussion, were disconcerted by this almost inevitable suggestion; and, not knowing what to say, they lost their temper and talked nonsense. The chancellor of the exchequer declared that to admit of a competition would be like setting the nation up to auction; that things of this nature should be carried on with spirit. Here he was interrupted by Jekyll, who observed, "It is this spirit which has undone the nation! Our business is to consider thoroughly, deliberate calmly, and judge of the whole upon reason, not with the spirit alluded to." Walpole strongly recommended an open competition, and the receiving of proposals from other companies or capitalists. After a very passionate debate, the House agreed to receive all proposals that might be offered. As the principle of competition was thus allowed, the Bank of England stepped in with proposals:* as soon as the offers of the Bank were known the South Sea Company called a meeting, and, at a general court, the directors were instructed to obtain the preference, *cost what it*

* The chancellor of the exchequer (Aislabie) afterwards said that the Bank had before "shown great backwardness in undertaking anything to reduce the public debts, and had treated the scheme with much contempt."—*Aislabie's Second Speech before the House of Lords.—Sinclair's Hist. of the Public Revenue.*

would. Upon this the Bank of England raised its offers, and then the South Sea Company raised theirs; and in this manner they went on bidding against each other like two angry clowns at a country sale. When, however, the Company had risen to the enormous offer of seven millions and a half, which they represented as a gratuity to be paid to the public, the Bank stopped its bidding, and the South Sea directors remained in possession of their rash bargain. It appears that the chancellor of the exchequer thought at one time of sharing the bargain between the Bank and the Company, and that Sir John Blunt, referring to Solomon's judgment, said, "No, Sir, we will never divide the child!" The South Sea Bill, however, was still opposed in the Commons by Walpole, who apparently foresaw that the extravagant terms of the contract would never be fulfilled; that the project would only extend the pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, by diverting the genius of the nation from trade and industry, and exciting a contempt for slow profits and careful economy. He insisted that, if the proposal of the South Sea Company were accepted, the rise of their stock should be limited; that every care ought to be taken to prevent the artificial rise of the value of the stock by keeping up a general infatuation, and by promising dividends out of funds which would never be adequate to their payment. He endeavoured to introduce a clause into the bill, fixing how many years' purchase should be granted to the annuitants by the South Sea Company: but the jobbers on the other side—for it is pretty certain that from the beginning there was a corrupt spirit of jobbing as well as folly and a vertigo—represented that it was the evident interest of the company to take up the annuities; and, as the annuitants were free to come in or not, there could be no doubt but that the company would offer advantageous terms; and that, therefore, the whole affair might safely be left to itself, or to be settled between the annuitants and the company. The South Sea Bill was finally passed in the Commons on the 2nd of April, by a majority of 172 to 55; and on the 4th it was carried triumphantly through the other House, where

only seventeen peers opposed it, and where little attention was paid to Lord Cowper, who compared the project to the Trojan horse, which was ushered in with pomp and acclamations, but contrived for treachery and destruction. On the 7th of April the bill received the royal assent, and a few days after Walpole published a critical pamphlet entitled 'The South Sea Scheme considered.' Yet at this moment Lord Townshend and Walpole were both negotiating with the Earl of Sunderland, whom they had charged with having treacherously supplanted them; and both were on the very eve of accepting office. Walpole, as we have said, found he was not strong enough to overthrow the ministry; and Sunderland and Stanhope, who were dreadfully hampered by the Hanoverian favourites, found that they were scarcely strong enough to do without him. The objections of the king were removed in consequence of a reconciliation, effected chiefly by Walpole's means, with the Prince of Wales.* This reconciliation of father and son took place in May; and on the 4th of June Walpole was appointed paymaster of the forces, and on the 11th Lord Townshend was named president of the council. The parliament was prorogued, with more talk about the national prosperity; and on the 14th of June, George departed for Hanover, adding, before he went, Lord Townshend and the Duke of Devonshire to the council of regency.

Walpole, though re-admitted to place, retired to pass the summer at Houghton. His solitude was soon disturbed by the verification of his sinister predictions about the South Sea Company. The company, in order to fulfil its engagements with government, had recourse to a system of artifice and exaggeration, representing, among other things, that they had made sure of inestimable markets and acquisitions in the South Sea; that

* Walpole, who had scarcely been able to keep terms with the prince when he was in power, courted his Highness's friendship when he was out of place, and became, to all appearance, a personal favourite and the prince's chief adviser. A submissive letter which the prince wrote to his father was in all probability dictated by Walpole.

they had discovered mines of hidden treasure; that they should be able to pay dividends of 50 per cent., &c.; and the people, in their cupidity, were dazzled by these visions, and, believing them all to be true, rushed with their money, like water through a flood-gate, to invest it all in the company. Men of good estate sold house and land in order to become great shareholders; merchants of eminence neglected their established traffic to reap 50 per cent. of profit; and the whole nation became intoxicated with per-centages, dividends, and transfers. As there was plenty of invention on one side, and the most abundant credulity on the other, it was not wonderful that the company's funds should rapidly rise from 130 to above 300. The strange and exciting drama which John Law had got up at Paris in the autumn of the preceding year (1719) was reperformed in London upon a grander scale, and with numerous additions; for, though the French were quite as sanguine and gambling as the English of that period, they had not quite so much money to throw away. Subscription succeeded subscription, each mounting above the other till the stock rose to above a thousand per cent. And the insolence and arrogance of the governor and directors rose in proportion, until it was said by a member of the House of Commons—"We have made them kings, and they deal with everybody as such." Stanhope and his colleagues, on the rising of parliament, had issued a royal proclamation forbidding the formation of companies or bodies corporate, and any raising of stocks or shares, without legal authority; but it was absolutely impossible, in the present frenzied state of the public mind, to prevent the formation of the bubble companies which sprung up and grew round the mighty original like mushrooms round a rotten tree. Among the objects for which joint stocks were proposed were the following:—To make salt water fresh—to make oil out of sun-flower seeds—for extracting silver out of lead—for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal—for trading in human hair—for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to pro-

pagate a large breed of mules—for fatting of hogs—and for a wheel of perpetual motion! But every day brought forth a new project, till all trade was suspended save this gambling in shares—till 'Change Alley was crammed from morning till night with dukes, lords, country squires, parsons, dissenting ministers, brokers and jobbers, and men of every possible colour and description,—nay, the very ladies appeared there at times, in their eagerness to transact their own business. The highest personage in the land in the king's absence, the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne of three kingdoms, joined in the general scramble, and put his name down as a governor of a Welsh copper company! As soon, however, as the prince got notice that a prosecution would be instituted against the company, he retired; but, in withdrawing his name, he took care to withdraw also a gambling profit of 40,000*l.*! The prosecutions with which these unauthorised companies were threatened proceeded from the jealousy of the South Sea Company, who, desiring to monopolise all the folly and all the money of the nation, obtained writs of *scire facias* against the managers of the lesser bubbles, and thus put an end to most of them. But, in thus exposing the cards of others, they drew attention to their own game: they wanted only to let in a bit of the truth; but, through the breach they had made, the whole truth burst in, and people began to suspect, and then to be certain, that they had been playing their solid gold against bits of paper, which represented little or nothing, save the matchless impudence of financial projectors. The South Sea stock, that had been going at 1000 in August, sunk below 300 in September, and no exertions could ever get it up again. Bankers, brokers, merchants, goldsmiths, began to break and fly the country, each ruining hundreds or thousands of others in his own ruin. In the height of the panic Walpole was applied to by men who had rejected and despised his advice, but who now implored him to come up to London and make terms with the Bank of England, or persuade the governors of it to accede to a proposal made

by the South Sea Company to keep them from breaking, by circulating some of their bonds. Walpole left Houghton, and was present at several conferences between the committee of the South Sea Company and the committee of the Bank; but, after consenting to a proposal made by him for circulating three millions of bonds for one year, the Bank, seeing more clearly the desperate situation of affairs, withdrew, and refused to keep its bargain. And just at this moment news came from France that John Law, the real parent of the scheme—Law, the Scots financier or Stock jobber who had turned the heads of the Duke of Orleans, Dubois, and well nigh every man in France, making stock-jobbers of them all—was flying for his life from an enraged and beggared people; and that an edict, signed by the regent, had come out, depriving his paper-money of all value. If Englishmen had been cool enough to observe the course of events abroad, they might have seen, several months before, that Law's system was falling more rapidly than it had risen, and was crushing in its ruins the credit and resources of their Continental neighbours. If the Parisians, who had once cut his carriage to pieces and almost murdered his coachman, had caught John Law, in all probability they would have made as many pieces of him as they had done of his coach. The Londoners were not quite so ferocious; but they heaped execrations upon the South Sea Company, and all that had been concerned in it; and the very name of a South Sea man grew abominable in every country." The directors, the ministers, the royal family, the king himself, were all assailed; and nearly all of them had profited by the bubble while it lasted, or lost large sums when it burst. So general had been the gambling, that one who took the pains to count the exceptions among ministers and noblemen of the highest rank could only name Lord Stanhope and the Dukes of Argyll and Roxburgh as not having been "in the stocks." It was said and believed that his majesty and his ill-favoured German mistresses, by buying at the lowest and selling out at the highest, had realised enormous sums, which were carried over to Hanover, to be

hoarded or spent there. It was also said that these rapacious sultanas, and some of the king's ministers as well, had received large sums in stock from Sir John Blunt, the projector, and others, to recommend the project. The courage with which Walpole came forward, at the call of the king, to face the storm, and the ability and address with which he weathered it, are altogether indisputable; nor is it too much to say that he was the restorer of public credit, and the minister that saved the nation from the worst kind of bankruptcy. While others—Englishmen as well as Hanoverians—were completely bewildered, and doing their best or their worst to increase the alarm and confusion of the king, Walpole looked with a confident eye to the resources of the country, and to the energy of the commercial world; and he wrote consoling letters to Hanover to cheer George, and to advise his speedy return to England. Accompanied by Stanhope, his majesty landed at Margate on the 9th of November.

Between the 9th of November and the 8th of December, when parliament assembled, Walpole matured his scheme for meeting the difficulties of the case, and held numerous conferences with the Bank of England and the East India Company, whom he brought into a plan for engrafting a certain portion of the South Sea stock upon their stocks. In the House of Commons, however, all the good which Walpole devised ran a risk of being frustrated by the vehement passions of those men who were more anxious for revenge, and for the downfall of Sunderland and Stanhope, than for the recovery of their country. It was long since so gigantic a mischief had been presented to the oratory of opposition; and the Whigs that were out of place, and the Tories and Jacobites that could hardly hope to get into place except by a revolution,* joined in one thick and

* Some of the determined Jacobites flattered themselves that the South Sea calamities would bring on or greatly favour a revolution. Bishop Atterbury was of opinion that if the Duke of Ormond could only make a move, and land

noisy phalanx. On the 12th of December, or four days after the opening of parliament, it was moved that the South Sea directors should forthwith be called upon to lay before the House a full account of their proceedings. The motion was hotly seconded. Sir Richard Steele declared that this nation, which two years before had possessed more weight and greater credit than any other in Europe, was reduced to its present distress by a few ciphering cits, a species of men of equal capacity, in all respects (that of cheating a deluded people only excepted), with those animals who saved the Capitol. Walpole again urged that they ought first to consider his remedial plan—that any delay would be dangerous; and the motion was reduced to a vote, declaring "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit than preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." And on the 21st Walpole brought forward his remedy, which was in substance to ingraft nine millions of the South Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the same sum into the East India Company, on certain conditions, leaving a remainder of twenty millions to the South Sea Company.

A.D. 1721.—After a long opposition, and several alterations, this project was adopted by both Houses of parliament, and a bill embodying it received the royal assent; but from various circumstances it never came into operation. The cry for vengeance continued; and after the Christmas recess a bill was brought in by Jekyll, for restraining the South Sea directors from leaving the kingdom, and obliging them to deliver in upon oath the strict value of their estates. The directors petitioned to be heard by counsel in their defence, as the common right of British subjects; but their prayer was rejected, and Jekyll's bill was carried. A committee of secrecy, consisting chiefly of members that were most violent, was appointed to examine the company's accounts and other papers. Knight, the cashier of the company, and

with a small army from Spain, the disorder of our finances would do wonders for the Pretender.—*Stuart Papers.*

the man that knew most of its secret transactions, took the alarm, or was induced by the fears of others, to whom he had been an agent, to fly out of England, and to take with him the register called the Green Book. When his escape was reported to the House the excitement was as great as it could have been at the arrival of the Pretender in the city of London: the doors were ordered to be locked and the keys to be laid upon the table; and General Ross, a member of the committee of secrecy, declared that they had discovered "a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." Without waiting for any proof, four of the South Sea directors, who were members of parliament, were expelled the House, taken into custody, and had their papers seized. The other directors were seized with their papers shortly after. Nor was there less heat in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons. Their lordships had brought five of the directors before them, and had made them either confess or admit by implication that South Sea paper had been liberally distributed to procure the passing of the act which had enabled them to do such fatal mischief. Upon this Lord Stanhope expressed great indignation, and moved a resolution that the transfer of stock for the use of any person in the administration was a dangerous corruption. On the 4th of February Sir John Blunt refused to answer their lordships, upon the ground that he had already given his evidence before the Commons' secret committee. A vehement debate ensued, in the course of which the Duke of Wharton, who had just come of age, and who to splendid abilities united the wildest profligacy, fell with fury upon Stanhope, whom he compared to Sejanus, that evil and too powerful minister who had sown division in the Imperial family, and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans. Stanhope replied, and reminded the young libertine of the example of Brutus, who, to assert the liberty of Rome, had sacrificed his own degenerate and worthless son: but in his transport of rage the blood rushed to his head; he was led out of the House, and on the next day the brave and

accomplished Earl of Stanhope was a corpse. The youthful president of the "Hell-fire Club," having killed the minister, hardly ever spoke again in the House, but gave himself up to debaucheries which disgraced and shortened his own life, and involved him in difficulties which led him to treason and attainder.

Lord Townshend became secretary of state in the room of Stanhope; and, as Aislabie was crushed by popular opinion, Walpole was again made chancellor of the exchequer. Meanwhile the secret committee continued their labours, sitting nearly every day from nine in the morning till eleven at night; and on the 16th of February they presented their report to the House. It was astounding, and calculated to destroy all remaining confidence (the *all* was very small) in ministerial honesty. The committee stated that their inquiry had been attended with many difficulties, as the company's books were full of false and fictitious entries, blanks, erasures, and alterations, while some of their books had been destroyed altogether or secreted. They had, however, ascertained by the cross-examination of the directors and accountants, and by other means, that before the South Sea Bill was passed, and in order to get it passed, the directors in the secret management had disposed of fictitious stock at various prices, amounting in the whole to rather more than 1,200,000*l.*, to be esteemed as holden of the company for the benefit of the pretended purchasers, who made no agreement, deposited no money, and gave no security for payment—a contrivance by which the holders of the stock could sustain no loss if it should fall, and would receive all the gain if it should rise. Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Holditch, and Mr. Knight, the cashier, who had fled, had the disposal of this stock; and they had given to the Earl of Sunderland, at the request of Mr. Craggs, senior, 50,000*l.*—to the Duchess of Kendal, 10,000*l.*—to the Countess of Platen, another of the king's mistresses, 10,000*l.*—to the Countess of Platen's two nieces, 10,000*l.*—to Mr. Craggs, senior, 30,000*l.*—to Charles Stanhope, Esquire, secretary of the treasury, 10,000*l.*—

to the Sword-blade Company, 50,000*l.*, &c., &c. This report was succeeded by six others, in the last of which the committee declared that the absconding of Knight, who had the key to the darkest secrets, and who had often been solely intrusted, had left them in the dark as to many particulars. While this report was reading in the House one of the ministers accused, James Craggs, secretary of state, died of the small-pox, which was then raging. It is supposed that anxiety of mind contributed with the loathsome disease in killing this accomplished friend of Alexander Pope. As to his father, the post-master-general, who was accused of similar peculation, he took poison and died of it a few weeks after. The first public man the House proceeded against was Charles Stanhope, a near relation of the late minister; but, chiefly through the esteem felt for his deceased relative, Lord Stanhope, he was declared innocent by a majority of three. Aislabie's case came on next, and it was so bad as to admit of scarcely any defence or palliation: he was unanimously expelled the House and committed to the Tower, to the great joy of the city of London, where bonfires were lit in all directions. The greater part of Aislabie's property was also seized. The House next charged Lord Sunderland, who had repeatedly shown a noble disinterestedness in money matters. Sunderland was acquitted by the large majority of 233 against 172. It appears, indeed, that one of that minister's bitterest enemies accused Sunderland not of having been the confederate, but the dupe and victim, of the directors;* and instead of making money he lost large sums by the South Sea scheme. Against the mistresses and court ladies the Commons did not proceed; but they fell with the whole weight of their vengeance upon the directors, who, as "monsters of pride and covetousness"—"cannibals of 'Change Alley,"—and traitors to their country, were deemed unentitled to fair play, and to the ordinary decencies of legal procedure. They were for ever disabled from holding

* Letter from Mr. Broderick to Lord Middleton.

places, sitting in parliament, or becoming members of any companies; their estates were confiscated for the relief of the beggary they had caused, and they were themselves allowed little better than a beggar's pittance out of their confiscated property. No distinction was made as to degrees of guilt or folly, and no attention paid to the fact that several of these directors left off poorer than when they had begun.*

In spite of his acquittal, Sunderland found himself so unpopular that he resigned the treasury and premiership, and was succeeded by Walpole, who thus obtained the summit of his ambition. He shared his power for a time with Lord Townshend, who got the secretaryship of state vacated by the death of Lord Stanhope; but Sunderland continued to be a sort of favourite or prime adviser with the king, and to have considerable influence at court. Walpole's commission, as first lord of the treasury, was dated the 2nd of April, 1721; and from this date down to the year 1742 he held the reins of government in England, often in circumstances of peculiar embarrassment and difficulty. His first care now was to dissipate the popular panic and restore credit and confidence. After the fall of Alberoni and the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, all obstacles to a peace with Spain seemed to be removed, and a treaty between that country and Great Britain was signed at Madrid on the 13th of June, one of the conditions being that restitution should be made of all the effects taken on both sides. And on the very same day, to the surprise of all who were not acquainted with the motives of King George, a treaty of defensive alliance was signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. In this treaty Great Britain engaged, by a secret article, not to oppose the views of Spain in Italy; and by another secret article France and Spain guaranteed to Hanover the possession of Bremen and Verden, a guarantee which had been obstinately refused by

* "Several of the directors," says Macpherson, "were so far innocent as to be found poorer at the breaking up of the scheme than when it began."—*Hist. Commerce.*

the Emperor, who thereby had lost the friendship of George, and exposed both the dominions he held, and the others he coveted in Italy. Numerous differences were referred to the congress agreed to be held at Cambray, which met, and disputed, and dissolved without settling anything. George in his eagerness to procure the guarantee of Spain for Bremen and Verden, had again made an offer, "touching the restoration of Gibraltar," promising in a letter to Philip "to regulate this article with the consent of parliament;" but when the secret proposal became known it excited so much indignation that he was obliged to withdraw it.* In the month of August a definitive treaty was concluded, under the mediation of France, between the Czar Peter and the Queen of Sweden, by which the fertile provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Carelia, were confirmed to Russia, and nothing but the barren deserts of Finland restored to Sweden.

The first Septennial Parliament of Great Britain met for its last session on October the 19th this year. The king, in his speech, set forth the happy event of peace being restored to Europe.

A.D. 1722.—On the 7th of March the parliament was prorogued, and, as it had sat for nearly seven years, it was dissolved on the 10th by proclamation. The Earl of Sunderland, who had continued to support ministers and to intimate publicly the large share he still held in the confidence of his sovereign, died suddenly on the 19th of April. As he had many enemies, as he was suspected of dark designs, and as it was known he was feared as well as hated, a report arose that he had been poisoned; but the surgeons opened his body and discovered an organic disease in the heart which was quite sufficient to account for his death. In less than two months he was followed to the grave by his great father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough, who, after suffering a paralytic attack in 1716, and living for six years in a state little removed from dotage, expired at Windsor

* Hardwicke, State Papers.—Coxe, Memoirs.

Lodge, immensely rich, on the 16th of June, in the seventy-second year of his age.*

While Marlborough was lying on his death-bed the nation was agitated by fresh rumours of plots and conspiracies. A star had risen in the South that revived the hopes of the Jacobites: the Polish wife of the Pretender had given birth to a son at Rome at the end of the year 1720. This child of exile, this heir to a crown that was no longer allowed to go by inheritance, was ushered into the world in the presence of seven cardinals, deputed by the pope; and at a most royal christening he received the name of Charles Edward Louis Casimir. The happy event was proclaimed by the Jacobites in all parts of the United Kingdom; and fresh comparisons were drawn between the Stuarts and the Guelphs—the family of love and the family of hate—the legitimate exiles and the illegitimate occupants of the throne. Attention was again directed to the oldness and ugliness of King George's mistresses; and their rapacity, and the unengaging qualities of the king, and everything that dissatisfied and disgusted the nation were put together as a dark background to the beauties and graces and amiabilities of King James and Queen Clementina, and the sweet innocent young prince. While these things were producing their effect upon unthinking masses, men of deep thought and cool deliberation were laying positive schemes for a revolution. At the head of these plotters were the Earls of Arran and Orrery, Lords Lansdowne, North, and Gower, and

* His sister, Arabella Churchill, whose dishonour promoted his first rise, survived Marlborough eight years. By James II. she was the mother of the celebrated James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick; of Henry Fitz-James, who became Grand Prior of France; of Henrietta, who was married to Lord Waldegrave; and of another daughter whose name is not preserved, but who is said to have taken the veil. Some time after her connexion with James, Arabella Churchill married Colonel Charles Godfrey, Comptroller of the Household and Master of the Jewel Office, by whom she had two daughters. She died in May, 1730, at the age of eighty-two.

Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester; and these men of mark were in communication with Queen Anne's Tory prime minister, Lord Oxford, and numerous others who were too timid to take decisive steps at first, but ready to join, might and main when the opportunity should seem free from danger. But of the bold—though there were veteran soldiers like Lord North—not one was so bold as Bishop Atterbury, who, in addition to hardihood and daring, had ability and genius of a rare order, and a truly classical mind. Atterbury's great object was to obtain a foreign force under the exiled Duke of Ormond; and he fondly fancied that if that nobleman could land with only five thousand men, the enthusiasm of the Jacobites and the dissatisfaction of the people would do the rest. As long as England was engaged in war the bishop and his brother counsellors hoped that Spain or some other country might fit out such an expedition, and, favoured by circumstances, effect an invasion; but, now that the kingdom was at peace with all the world, such an armament was scarcely to be expected. But instead of being deterred, these resolute men resolved to proceed with that less kind of assistance that might be procured clandestinely from abroad; and they trusted sufficiently in the insincerity of treaties to believe that not only Spain, but also France, would gladly contribute to light a fire in Britain by sending, or *permitting* to be sent over, some of their disbanded troops, money, and arms. While the Duke of Ormond intrigued to this end at Madrid, General Dillon, an Irish Catholic, and an exile from his country ever since the victories of William III., laboured in the same vocation at Paris. Atterbury and his friends in England engaged on their side to get possession of the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer; and other places where public money was deposited, and to proclaim King James III. simultaneously in different parts of the country. But in the month of May the English government was informed by the regent of France, upon condition that no one should die for it, that there was a formidable design against the person and government of King George. This opened wide the eyes

of Walpole, which probably had not been altogether closed before; and the minister ascertained that the Pretender had actually left Rome, and that the Duke of Ormond was on his way from Madrid to the Biscayan coast. He instantly persuaded George to give up his Continental journey, and to form a camp in Hyde Park, to which all military officers were ordered to repair. He also despatched General Macartney to bring over troops from Ireland, apprehended some suspected persons in Scotland, applied to the States of Holland to have ships and land-troops in readiness, sent Colonel Churchill to Paris to deal with the regent, and obtained from the court of Madrid an order to prevent the embarking of Ormond. As Walpole had now the names of the chief conspirators and proofs of their guilt, warrants were issued for the apprehension of some of them. On the 21st of May, Kelly, a non-juring clergyman, was seized at his lodgings in Bury-street, St. James's, by two messengers. The messengers, who were two cowards, took his sword and some papers; but while they were looking out for other papers Kelly recovered his sword, and, threatening to run them through if they approached him, he burnt his most important paper at a candle, holding it with his left hand, while he pointed his sword with his right. As soon as the important manuscript was burnt its spirited owner surrendered. Neynoe, an Irish Catholic priest, on his arrest, tied the blankets and sheets of his bed together, and descended from a window two stories high to a garden-wall that abutted on the Thames: he then leaped into the water, but not being able to swim was drowned. Layer, a young barrister of the Temple, escaped, but was presently recaptured. Thomas Carte, the learned and industrious Jacobite historian, who was deep in the plot, fled betimes and got safe into France: Plunket, an Irish Jesuit, who had been active in many plots, was seized with his papers. Lord North, upon learning the arrest of the young Templar, Layer, his friend or confidant, fled in disguise to the Isle of Wight; but before he could get away to the Continent he was discovered, and was soon made fast in London. Subsequently Lord

Orrery, who was indisputably a principal conspirator, and the Duke of Norfolk, were sent to the Tower; but in both cases there was either a want of evidence or of a wish on the part of government to spare them; and they were liberated after a short confinement. There seems to have been an intention or a desire to overlook the plotting bishop altogether, but proofs accumulated upon proofs, and it was judged indispensable to commit him. The warrant, however, was not executed till the 24th of August, when Atterbury was arrested at his deanery at Bromley, in Kent.

On the 9th of October the second septennial parliament assembled, to all appearance calm and confident in the midst of that general alarm and excitement. The elections had been most favourable to Walpole and the Whigs, and the opposition was rather loud-toned than formidable. The royal speech disclosed the particulars of the late Jacobite plot. After voting a highly complimentary address, the Commons at once proceeded to that always questionable measure, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Walpole, in some unusual vision of poetical justice, conceived that the Papists were at the bottom of the late plot, and that those ought to pay for the mischief who had made it. He accordingly brought in a bill for raising a hundred thousand pounds by a tax upon the real and personal estates of all Papists, or persons educated in the Romish religion, to go towards defraying the expenses occasioned by the late attempt. The good sense and feeling of many revolted at this indiscriminate punishment, which savoured of the dark ages; but the motion was carried, nevertheless, by a triumphant majority of 217 to 168. As, however, there was no concealing the fact that priests of the Church of England had been as busy in the plot as priests of the Church of Rome, it was deemed but fair to lengthen the lash, and by a subsequent motion the bill was extended to all nonjurors. To save their purses, or to escape further persecution, or to get into that House of Commons which, in spite of every effort, continued to contain a small knot of Jacobites, many hundreds of men were

made to commit perjury by act of parliament. "I saw a great deal of it," says Speaker Onslow; "and it was a strange as well as ridiculous sight to see people crowding at the quarter sessions to give a testimony of their allegiance to government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by it."

A.D. 1723.—The young Templar, Mr. Layer, was tried and convicted in the Court of King's Bench of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion. He was reprieved, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons; but, as he would confess nothing, he suffered at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple Bar. Pulteney, who had been chairman of the committee that examined Layer and others, presented a report to the House on the 1st of March. It appeared that the names of Lords Scarsdale, Strafford, Craven, Bathurst, Gower, Bingley, and Cowper had been mentioned in the depositions. All these noblemen repelled the imputation in the House of Lords, though there is ground for believing that all were, more or less, implicated, with the single exception of Lord Cowper; and even he, as known to be discontented with the ministerial arrangements, had received solicitations from the Earl of Mar and the Pretender.* With respect to others of the Jacobites, the report of the committee was far more clear. Bills of pains and penalties, subjecting them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to confiscation of property, were carried through both Houses by large majorities against Plunket the Jesuit, and Kelly the Protestant nonjuring clergyman: and another bill, enacting banishment and deprivation, but without forfeiture of goods, was brought into the House of Commons against Bishop Atterbury.† The bill having passed

* Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng., who refers to letters he has seen in the unpublished Stuart Papers.

† The bill also declared that it should be felony to correspond with the exiled bishop without the king's license; and that the king should never pardon him without consent of parliament.

through the Commons without a division, was sent up to the Lords; and the bishop was brought to the bar of the Upper House on the 6th of May. When the evidence against him was gone through, the bishop produced his counter evidence. Alexander Pope, his bosom friend—the Catholic poet, who loved the Protestant prelate, and has preserved the memory of his social qualities and domestic virtues in more than one undying verse,—was among Atterbury's witnesses. But the poet was nervous and confused; he stammered and blundered; and all that he really had to say was, that he could never consider his friend as a conspirator—that their social, happy hours at Bromley had been spent in discussing matters very different from plots and revolutions. Most of the bishops were silent or adverse to their brother; but that profligate layman, the young Duke of Wharton, stood up in his defence; and Lord Cowper also maintained his innocence, and declared that parliament was not competent to pass sentence of deprivation upon a bishop. But, upon a division, the bill was carried through the Lords by a majority of 83 to 43, and within a few days it received the royal assent. The bishop took an affecting leave of the poet Pope and his other friends, who, somewhat strangely, compared him to Cato; and on the 18th of June he was embarked on board a king's ship and conveyed to Calais. Atterbury threw himself at once into the service of the Pretender, and became his confidential agent, first at Brussels and afterwards at Paris; and all the while he represented to the quiet part of his friends and admirers at home that he was eating the bread of poverty and exile with a meek and enduring spirit, and finding consolation for the wrongs of princes and politicians in religion and divine philosophy. Upon his first landing in France he learned that Lord Bolingbroke, who, after long bargaining and making a pointed exposure of the weakness of the Pretender's character and the hopelessness of his cause,* had just received his par-

* In a letter to his friend Sir William Wyndham, which Bolingbroke sent *unsealed* to the postmaster-general of King George!—*Coxe, Memoirs of Walpole.*

don from King George, was on the point of returning to England, which the bishop had left for ever. The ex prime minister or chief secretary of the luckless Stuart had obtained his pardon through the sagacious Lord Stair, who had told his court that no man could do so much injury to the Jacobite cause, and through the rapacious Duchess of Kendal, who had been bribed to remove impediments. Walpole, who afterwards accused Bolingbroke of baseness and ingratitude, got the pardon passed under the great seal. This pardon, however, merely secured the person of Bolingbroke in England, and comprised no reversal of the attainder in relation to his estates and his seat in the House of Lords, which could not be granted by the king without a special act of parliament. Upon his arrival at London, in the month of June, he applied all his energy and ability to recover his seat; but the king had already departed for Germany, and was not expected to return for some time; and, what was worse, he had taken the Duchess of Kendal with him. As he had made money in France in Law's Mississippi scheme, and as he had recently married a rich French lady, Madame de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, the last and unctuous mistress of Louis XIV., Bolingbroke had cash and to spare; and, though money had been already paid to the Schulemberg, it appears that he brought over more for that grasping sultana. He renewed his connexion with his friend Sir William Wyndham, who was still the leader of the Tories in the House of Commons; and, waiting upon Walpole, whom he envied and hated, he attempted to persuade that minister that his allies, the Tories, might, upon conditions, be brought to coalesce with him. But Walpole sternly rejected any such union: he told Bolingbroke that, as his entire restoration to his property and his seat in the House of Lords must depend upon a Whig parliament, he would do well to shun any new engagement with the Tories; and that ministers would not hazard the king's affairs by proposing his restoration rashly. The Anglo-Frenchman then returned to France, where he was more at home than in his native country, and

where he remained till September, 1724, mixing in fresh political intrigues, and amusing his leisure with writing philosophical letters to his friends, in which he denounced in good set phrases the crimes and follies of ambition. The profligate Abbé Dubois, who had risen to be a cardinal and prime minister of France, died in the month of August, and in the following month of December his more profligate pupil, the Duke of Orleans, the regent, expired at Versailles, a worn-out man, at the age of fifty. As the young Louis XV. was nominally of age, no other regent was appointed, but the Duke de Bourbon in reality assumed the reins of government, and was regent under the title of minister. Bourbon had neither the extreme vices nor the abilities of his predecessor, Orleans: he was a weak man, governed by his mistress, Mademoiselle de Prie; and Bolingbroke flattered himself that in his own person, and in that of his accomplished and thoroughly court-trained French wife, he could rule both the mistress and the new prime minister, with whom he had been on the most intimate terms for many years.

A.D. 1724.—The Houses met on the 7th of January. "I cannot," said George, in a well-written speech, the production of Walpole, "open this session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year for the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions." The Commons, following the king's recommendation, made provision for the liquidation of a part of the public debts out of the surplus arising from the sinking fund. They granted all the supplies that were demanded: voted 10,000 men for the navy, and agreed to maintain 4000 additional land troops, which had been raised in the preceding year on the alarm of invasion and insurrection. The standing army thus allowed amounted altogether to 18,200 men.

The misdoings of Parker, Earl of Macclesfield and Lord Chancellor, had gone to such an extent that it was imperative to check and punish him. Warned by the

public voice, he resigned the great seal, hoping thereby to save his iniquitous gains and escape punishment; but Sir George Oxenden carried his impeachment in the Commons, and he was brought to the bar of the Lords, charged with having made unusual and exorbitant profits by the sale of masterships in Chancery, &c., with having abused his trust in using the money of suitors, and of widows and orphans, to whom he was the legal guardian, and with other enormous abuses. He was unanimously found guilty by his peers, and sentenced to pay a fine of 30,000*l.*, and to be imprisoned in the Tower till he paid it. Sir Peter King, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, now created Baron King, succeeded Macclesfield in the chancellorship.

Lady Bolingbroke was now in England, with a well-filled purse, to work out her husband's full restoration. She got introduced at court, where the king did not like her; but the Duchess of Kendal took her money, and through that means Walpole was constantly assailed for a bill to restore Bolingbroke both to his property and to his seat. Walpole, who would as soon have seen his satanic majesty in the British parliament, resolutely maintained that Bolingbroke ought never to be restored to his seat in the Lords; but he willingly enough consented to a bill for putting him in possession of his forfeited estates. This bill was brought in by Lord Finch, and seconded by Walpole himself; but it was opposed by the hottest of the Whigs, and by the few decided Jacobites in the House, who could never forgive what they considered Bolingbroke's treachery to the Pretender. The bill, however, was carried through the Commons by a majority of 231 to 113; and the Lords acceded, notwithstanding a strong protest signed by five peers. Presently after this Bolingbroke came back again and fixed his residence in England, much less thankful at what parliament or ministers had given him than furious at what they withheld.

A.D. 1725.—In the beginning of preceding year the hypochondriac Philip of Spain had retired with his queen to the country palace of Ildefonso, and there carried into

effect a design which he professed to have long meditated. In a message to the council of Castile he announced his intention of abdicating in favour of his son Don Louis;—in order, as he said, to lead, at St. Ildefonso, a private life with the queen, that, freed from all other cares, he might serve God, meditate on a future life, and devote himself to the important work of salvation. The council, which had been properly warned and prepared, raised no objection to this partial imitation of the conduct of the great Charles V., and the act of abdication was formally passed. On the 15th of January Don Louis announced his acceptance of the crown, expressing his veneration and astonishment at the piety and self-denial of his father. The juggle was imposing, but still it appears to have been little more than a state-trick. The young French King, Louis XV., was again in a precarious state; and Philip, who had never been happy in Spain, who had conscientious scruples about his right to the Spanish throne, and an inward conviction that his renunciation of the French crown was illegal and invalid, entertained a hope of succeeding to the inheritance of Louis XIV. By transferring Spain beforehand to one of his sons, he fancied that the opposition of the great powers would be removed; and he was ready to give fresh pledges that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one head. On the other side, his abdication was in reality very incomplete, for he had established an administration which depended entirely upon himself, and which would receive its orders from him, though his son was nominally king; he had made deposits of large sums of money at Segovia; and had altogether so arranged matters that he could exercise the authority of a king in Spain as well at St. Ildefonso as if he were at Madrid, and seat himself upon the throne again whenever he chose. The boy Louis, eldest son of Philip by his first wife Maria Louisa of Savoy, was only in the 17th year of his age, without talent or the promise of it—a complete piece of royal inanity: he was frivolous and indolent rather than vicious; but his wife, third daughter of the regent Duke of Orleans, was inclined to be dissolute, capricious, and

arrogant, and she hated and despised her husband, who, it is said, out of aversion to her person, never consummated his marriage. The business of government, divided between two courts—St. Ildefonso and Madrid—was managed as if state business had become a game of riddles and cross-questions. The old Marshal Tessé, the French ambassador, was obliged to declare that this farce of king and no king could not last much longer. It was ended in seven months by the death of Don Louis, who fell a victim to the small-pox; and thereupon Philip reascended the throne of Spain, almost despairing of that of France, as the occupant of it had not only recovered, but had been declared likely to live and beget children. The death of Don Louis alone saved his young queen from the humiliation of a divorce; the recovery of Louis XV. led to the rupture of the marriage contract between his most Christian majesty and an infanta of Spain, who, on the conclusion of peace and Philip's accession to the Quadruple Alliance, had been affianced and sent to Paris, though only four years of age, at the same time that Don Louis's young wife had been sent from Paris to Madrid. The Infanta Mary Ann was even now little more than six years old, and the French court was anxious for immediate issue, while Louis XV. had conceived a strong dislike to the person of his Spanish cousin. The Duke of Bourbon and his mistress Madame de Prie resolved at all hazards to gratify the young king, to send the infanta back to Madrid, and to procure another bride of more acceptable person and maturer years.

At last Mary Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the dethroned and exiled King of Poland, was fixed upon as a proper wife for Louis XV.; and having made this choice they sent the affianced infanta back to Spain in the month of March of the present year (1725). This insult threw the court and the whole kingdom of Spain into a frenzy. Philip himself, in spite of his thin blood, declared that all the blood of Spain could not wipe out the insult, and that he would never be reconciled to France till the Duke of Bourbon came to Madrid to implore pardon on his knees. When the match-making

and interchange of princesses had been at its height, Mademoiselle Beaujolais, another daughter of the late regent Orleans, had been betrothed to Don Carlos and sent into Spain; but now that young lady was hurried across the Pyrenees, along with the widow of the late Don, or King, Louis. If the welfare or tranquillity of millions of people had not been mixed up with these contemptible family squabbles and spites, we might laugh at them as at the intrigues of a comical romance! But the treaties of Europe, the complicated relations of numerous and great states, were influenced by these dissensions. The court of Madrid had agreed to leave France the power of arbitrating at Cambray; but now Philip and his queen sent for the English ambassador, Mr. Stanhope, and declared their intention of throwing themselves entirely into the arms of England.* King George, however, declined this extreme overture, which might have involved him in a war with France; and he not only refused to break with the French government, but also urged that Spain stood greatly in need of French countenance and assistance in order to be safe from the pretensions and attacks of the emperor. Upon this the court of Madrid, blinded by their fury, dissolved the congress of Cambray by recalling their plenipotentiaries, professed their readiness to abandon all the points they had been contesting with the court of Vienna, and "proposed to the emperor a close alliance *against France and England.*" The emperor, who had never been satisfied with the conditions of the late peace—who was jealous of France—who detested George and his Continental schemes—and who had involved himself in a quarrel both with England and Holland by establishing an East India Company at Ostend, gladly closed with his old rival Philip; and by

* Despatches and letters cited by Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, &c.—Philip's fiery Italian Queen exclaimed before the English minister—"This one-eyed scoundrel has sent back my daughter because the king would not create the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain."—The Duke of Bourbon had the misfortune to be blind of an eye.

the 30th of April, 1725, a treaty between Spain and his Imperial majesty was concluded at Vienna. It was agreed between these two princes, whose rivalry had deluged Europe with blood for so many years, that the ties of alliance and friendship should be of the closest kind—that the King of Spain should sanction the Ostend Company, and allow it all the privileges of the most favoured nations; that he should acknowledge the emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and abandon all pretensions to every part of the territories dismembered from Spain at the peace of Utrecht; and, finally, that he should guarantee THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, which provided that the succession of all the hereditary states of the House of Austria should, in default of males, be secured and rest in the female line—an important point with the Emperor Charles, who had no sons to succeed him. The two sovereigns further bound themselves to support each other against any hostile attack from any other power or powers. The Emperor Charles, as a matter of course, repeated his renunciation of the Spanish throne: but it was soon discovered that he had also pledged himself in a private agreement to secure Philip more solid advantages—to demand Gibraltar for Spain; and should George refuse the precious rock, to combine with his Catholic majesty in recovering it and the island of Minorca by force, and in placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. As soon as the treaty was signed at Vienna the strange allies looked round to see what princes might be induced to join in their confederacy against France and England; and their eyes soon rested with confident hope upon Russia. The Czar Peter the Great had died suddenly in the preceding month of January; and had been quietly succeeded by his widow Catherine, who carried out his plans and continued his animosity to George, and to his ally the King of Denmark. Money—for Spain, though languishing, had still some gold to spare—was sent from Madrid to St. Petersburgh; and Catherine began to equip a fleet and recruit her army. Philip now assumed very high and haughty language, insulted the

British ambassador, and presently demanded the restitution of Gibraltar. But in the mean time England and France had not been idle, and a treaty in opposition to that of Vienna was signed at Hanover on the 3rd of September, between Great Britain, France, and Prussia; and to this treaty Denmark and Holland acceded shortly after.

A.D. 1726.—Parliament met on the 20th of January; and then Pulteney and the dissatisfied Whigs, and Shippen and the still plotting Jacobites, assailed the treaty of Hanover as unnecessary, unjust, unnational,—as tending to destroy the balance of power in Europe, undo the trade of England, and engage her in a dependence upon France. But Walpole was ready with his overwhelming majority, and an address in approval of the treaty was carried by 285 against 107. The parliament was prorogued on the 24th of May, when a strong English fleet, under Sir Charles Wager, was riding in the Baltic. Wager, being joined by a Danish squadron, ran up the Gulf of Finland, and on the 29th of May appeared before the Russian port of Revel, with positive orders not to suffer the Russian fleet to put to sea till the empress had removed all ground of suspicion, and declared her pacific intentions. Catherine was compelled to temporize: she denied any intention of war, or of giving any encouragement or assistance to the Pretender; but at the same time she prepared for war, and formally acceded to the treaty of Vienna. Sir Charles Wager continued to blockade Revel and other ports till the month of October, when the ice and storms of the North warned him to retire. During the course of the summer English diplomacy and English gold detached Sweden from the alliance which she had so recently formed with Russia; but, on another side, the capricious and violent King of Prussia broke suddenly off from the Treaty of Hanover and acceded to the Treaty of Vienna. Two other English fleets sailed in the spring—one for the West Indies, under Rear-Admiral Hosier, who had orders to take or block up the Spanish galleons; and the other, under Sir John Jennings, for the coast of Spain, where it was apprehended that a new armament was

preparing to carry the Pretender into England or Scotland. Jennings, who had some land-troops on board, scoured the Spanish coasts, where no armament was ready, and, after causing great alarm and doing some mischief, returned safely home; but Hosier and a considerable part of his fleet perished miserably of yellow fever and other diseases off Porto Bello and the Spanish Main. A more fatal expedition than this last had rarely left the English shore. As was but too usual in these inordinately corrupt and jobbing times, the ships had been badly provisioned and appointed, that profits might be put into the pockets of government men and contractors; and some of the ships, scarcely sea-worthy when they left England, became rotten in the West Indies.

A.D. 1727.—The parliament assembled on the 17th of January, when an essentially warlike speech was delivered from the throne. George informed the two Houses that the King of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit England, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the restitution of Gibraltar. Pulteney and the *patriots*, Sir William Wyndham and the Jacobites, who were furnished with arguments, wit, and sarcasm by the ever busy Bolingbroke, got up a loud and long debate against a war. The original address of the Commons, expressing their determination to stand by and support his majesty with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies, to raise the supplies necessary for the present exigency, and to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with his allies, in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe and the undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain, was, however, carried by a majority of 251 against 81. Twenty thousand seamen and twenty-six thousand soldiers were voted.

Spain commenced hostilities by laying another fruitless siege to Gibraltar, expecting to be joined by an Austrian army; but the emperor was in no condition to fulfil the engagements he had contracted in the treaty of Vienna: he saw that the confederacy he was forming in

Germany was not likely to come to anything without money; that England had taken into her pay 12,000 Hessians; that Sweden had been detached from Russia; that troops had been subsidised by England both in Sweden and Denmark; that the French were collecting an army on the Rhine; and that the Czarina, though she had concluded a strict alliance with him, was wavering and uncertain. The death of Peter's widow, which happened in the month of May, completed the emperor's despondency; and, after vapouring like a bully, he seized on the first overtures of peace like a coward, and sacrificing his rash ally Spain, he accepted the mediation of France; and on the 31st of May his ambassador at Paris signed the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. In twelve preliminary articles it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the emperor should suspend for seven years the charter of the Ostend East India Company, and confirm all the treaties previous to the year 1725; that a general congress should be opened within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for settling all differences whatsoever, consolidating the peace of Europe, &c. Nothing was left for Philip to do but to accede as quickly as possible to this treaty; his minister at Vienna, signed the preliminaries a week or two after; and then the Spaniards raised the siege of Gibraltar, and the English recalled their shipping from the blockade of Porto Bello, which allowed the plate ships to return to Spain. Philip, however, did not ratify the preliminaries or relinquish any of his pretensions; and England and Spain continued in a dubious state between peace and war.

Even at this very moment, when Walpole and his friends had brought the country out of an incipient war without any loss of honour or dignity, George's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, bought over by Bolingbroke and his party, was endeavouring to ruin the minister in the king's opinion, and to reinstate Bolingbroke, not merely in the House of Peers, but also in the cabinet. Walpole, who had his eyes everywhere, discovered the intrigue, and counterworked it for the time; but he was fain to

confess that, as his rival had the duchess entirely on his side, he knew not what must or might in time have been the consequences. But Bolingbroke, who had already seen all his ardent hopes dashed by one sudden royal death, was destined to another disappointment of the same kind by the same cause. George set out for Hanover on the 3rd of June, attended by the Duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend. He was apparently in his usual health; but on the forenoon of the 10th, as he was travelling along the road, he was seized with apoplexy in his coach, and on reaching Ippenburen he was quite lethargic. His mistress and his minister Townshend had been both left behind at different places on the road; but his attendants proposed that his majesty should stop at Ippenburen, and obtain medical assistance. The king, however, recovered speech enough to say, "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" several times, and the attendants, trained to implicit obedience, got the carriage in motion for that place; but before they reached Osnabruck George was dead. His unfortunate wife, who never saw England, and who never bore the title of queen, had died just seven months before him. George, who expired on Sunday, the 11th of June (O. S.), was in the sixty-eighth year of his age. In spite of many vices and infirmities of character, he had, on the whole, submitted admirably well to the restrictions of constitutional monarchy, and had on many occasions displayed very considerable ability as a ruler and a politician. In private life he seems also to have had some attractive qualities.

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QUEBEC
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THE

CABINET HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

BEING

AN ABRIDGMENT, BY THE AUTHOR,

OF THE CHAPTERS ENTITLED "CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY" IN "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND," WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY CHARLES MAC FARLANE.

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BOOK IX.—*Continued.*

A.D. 1727—1760.

CHAPTER I.—*Continued.*

GEORGE II.

A.D. 1727.—LORD TOWNSHEND, who had accompanied George I. to the continent, but who had been left behind on the road, did not reach Osnabruck till his master was dead. He instantly despatched a courier for England, whither he soon followed himself. Townshend's messenger and despatch arrived at his brother-in-law's, Sir Robert Walpole's, house in Chelsea on the 14th of June. Walpole instantly repaired to the palace at Richmond to salute the new sovereign. He knelt at his feet, kissed his hand as his king, and inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the usual speech or declaration to the council? "Sir Spencer Compton," replied the new monarch abruptly. The answer seemed decisive, and implied Sir Robert's dismission. That minister left the apartment and Richmond with the conviction that his reign was over; and immediately waited upon Compton with the king's commands. "Sir Spencer Compton," says Walpole's son, "was speaker of the House of Commons, and treasurer, I think, at that time, to his royal highness, who by that first command implied his intention of making Sir Spencer his prime minister. He was a worthy man, of

exceedingly grave formality, but of no parts, as his conduct immediately proved. The poor gentleman was so little qualified to accommodate himself to the grandeur of the moment, and to conceive how a new sovereign should address himself to his ministers, and he had also been so far from meditating to supplant the premier, that in his distress it was to Sir Robert Walpole himself he had recourse, and whom he besought to make the new draft of the king's speech for him."* The speech which Walpole wrote was delivered that same evening to the privy council; and on the following day at noon—the 15th of June—George II. was peaceably, if not joyously, proclaimed king of these realms. He was then in his forty-fourth year. In person and in manners George was still less dignified than his predecessor; he was also more fiery and passionate, and was generally supposed to have less talent for business. George I. had been rather dishonoured by the avarice of his mistresses than by his own greed for money; but George II. was meanly avaricious—a most unfortunate and odious quality in a prince. This master-passion seemed typified in his person and features,—the first being diminutive, the second pinched and hard. He was, however, a man of undisputed courage in the field, as his father had been before him; and he had these particular advantages over his sire—he could speak English fluently, though with a foreign accent; he knew the English people much better, from his having associated familiarly with them; he was sociable, communicative, and accessible on all occasions; and he had naturally a strong sense of justice and of honour. He was also much more temperate than his father, who would occasionally indulge in strong potations, and disclose his state secrets over the punch-bowl. In his habits and occupations he was as regular as a piece of clock-work; and he was so much a slave to routine, that he seemed "to think his having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow."† He sometimes read history, and he had a retentive and scrupulous memory as to

* Reminiscences.

† Letter of Lord Harvey to Horace Walpole.

dates; but as for elegant literature he had no sense of its beauties, and he affected to despise what he did not understand. He hardly paid more respect to the seventh commandment than had been paid by his father, or than was paid by the other European potentates, his contemporaries; but he chose his mistresses with far more taste, and instead of being a tyrannical, he was a most kind, and even a submissive, husband. It was, in fact, his good fortune, and the good fortune of the nation, that he allowed his wife, who was altogether a superior being, to rule him, and the state for him; and that his principal mistress was one of the quietest and most amiable of women. Caroline Wilhelmina was daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Anspach, and born in 1683, the same year as her husband George. Through the death of her father and the re-marrying of her mother, she was left under the guardianship of Frederick I., King of Prussia, and she was brought up chiefly at Berlin, under the superintendence of her aunt, Sophia Charlotte, Frederick's second wife, and a sister of George I. From the example and instruction of this aunt, who was an accomplished woman—a solitary model of refinement in the midst of a gross, clownish, and corrupt court—Caroline derived an ardent love of literature and philosophy, with a fondness for metaphysical pursuits which obtained for her the eulogiums of Clarke and Leibnitz. After rejecting the matrimonial overtures of the Archduke Charles, subsequently emperor, she espoused, in 1705, George II., then only electoral prince of Hanover. She was esteemed handsome before she had the small-pox and became corpulent. Her hand and arm were greatly admired for their whiteness and elegance; she had a penetrating eye, an expressive countenance, a fine voice, and much sweetness and grace, particularly when she spoke. In some respects, however, Caroline would have been a promising subject for a satirist; for she affected to combine the characters of a philosopher and princess royal (and proudly royal), a beauty and a wit, a metaphysician and a divine—though in divinity her notions were scarcely considered strictly

orthodox. "Her levees," says Archdeacon Coxe, "were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while she was at her toilet; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household; the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room." She took great delight in making theologians dispute knotty points in her presence; in perplexing them with questions concerning the opposite doctrines of the different Christian churches, and in carrying on a correspondence with them by means of her bedchamber-woman, Mrs. Clayton, afterward Lady Sandon. In short, her head was never free of divines and philosophers, poets, and authors of all descriptions; and it may be that all this did not tend to create in her husband a love of books and letters and literary men. George, who loved his army extravagantly, and who was nick-named by the Jacobites "the captain," or "the little captain," would rather discourse with a cornet of horse, or with a good corporal of grenadiers, than with all the Leibnitzes, Clarkes, Gays, and Popes in the world. But, mixed with these *femme-savante* absurdities, there was a good fund of homely sense, discretion, and dignity; and Caroline's moral character was without a blemish. During ten years she was more king than her husband, who seldom went wrong except when led contrary to her advice or suggestion. Yet she was never arrogant, or seemed self-willed, to her husband, who, to all outward appearance, was the absolute lord and master of the woman who ruled him. She had even the very rare philosophy of living on a friendly footing with his favourite mistress, who was one of her own bedchamber-women. This lady was Henrietta, daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, afterwards by her interest made a baron, and then created Earl of Buckinghamshire. She was married to Mr. Howard, who subsequently succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk, and who left a son he had by her, who was the last earl of that branch. At the time of their wed-

ding, towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, the young couple, being miserably poor, saw no step more promising than to go over to Hanover, and endeavour to ingratiate themselves with the future sovereigns of England. The literary men of the day did not offer up all their incense to the *savante* princess and queen; and though Caroline may have had the best of the philosophers and divines with her, the best of the poets were certainly rather with Mrs. Howard or Lady Suffolk. In part, perhaps, through the volatility of the race, and in part because they fancied that Caroline was not so liberal as she ought to be, and that the mistress must eventually have more power over the heart of the king than the wife, and a greater faculty for disposing of place, and pensions, Gay "put his whole trust in that lady;" Swift praised her as the person of her sex for whom he had the most esteem; and Pope, who always declared that he wanted nothing for himself, but only for his friends, and who quarrelled with the princess, frequented the society of the mistress, and complimented her with some elegant verse. Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, and Arbuthnot, paid their court in the same quarter: but we regret to add, that all these poets and wits turned against the inoffensive lady, and abused her roundly, when they found she could be of no use to them or to their party—that she never meddled with state affairs or with that treasury urn in which lay the prizes of places and appointments. The mistress, in fact, constantly watched and thwarted by the queen, and disregarded by the ministers, who knew who it was that really held the reins, had scarcely the shadow of pride; and to all politics she was constantly and wisely averse. Caroline, who from their earliest connexion had determined to govern, and deserved to do so, retained an undivided sway; and as she was convinced from the first that no minister could stand with Walpole in opposition, there could never have been much doubt as to the continuance of the ministry which George I. had left. Sir Robert also at this crisis fixed her favour by offering to obtain from parliament a jointure for her majesty of 100,000*l.* a year, while Sir Spencer

Compton—who, we suspect, was all along playing into Walpole's hands—would only undertake to propose 60,000*l.* Her majesty represented to her husband, at a fitting moment, that Compton was not even able to draw up a declaration; that it would be highly prejudicial to his affairs to prefer to the minister in actual possession a man in whose own judgment his predecessor was the fittest person to execute his office; she dwelt upon the danger of a motley cabinet; and she hinted that Walpole had agreed to carry through the House of Commons an augmentation to the civil list of 130,000*l.* This settled the business;—there was no more question of Sir Spencer Compton as prime minister; he got a peerage, the order of the garter, and the presidency of the council; and the king re-appointed the old ministry.

The Jacobites, whom no series of failures could wholly discourage, had been sanguine in their hopes that the death of the first George would lead to a revolution, and eventually to a restoration; but at the critical moment they saw all these hopes vanish into thin air; and the Earl of Strafford was obliged to confess to the Pretender that the torrent was too strong for his friends to resist.* At the news of George I.'s death the Pretender set out from Bologna, where he had been residing, and travelled rapidly across the Alps to Lorraine, whence he despatched a messenger to Bishop Atterbury, who was now residing at Paris as a regular agent or minister of the Stuarts, and who, indisputably, was holding a correspondence with a desperate faction in England. The bishop, however, had small consolation or encouragement to offer to his master. Nor were the advices received from other Jacobite agents much more encouraging. Lord Orrery, in London, confessed that the number of discontented among the people was small; and he deplored the servility, ignorance, and poor spirit of the English nobility and gentry, who, he said, were striving who should sell themselves at the best price to

* Letters from Strafford to the Pretender, dated June 21, 1727, published by Lord Mahon, from Stuart Papers, in Appendix to History of England from Peace of Utrecht.

the new court, but were resolved to sell themselves at any price. Lockhart, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland, where some of his plotting had been discovered, declared that the project of himself and his friends returning to their country without a foreign army to back them was a hopeless one, that could only bring down ruin upon the cause and all that adhered to it. At the same moment the little beggared and vagabond court of the Pretender was distracted with all kinds of intrigues, jealousies, and animosities; and the Pretender himself had behaved so unfaithfully and so savagely to his wife, Clementina, that that high-spirited woman had run away from him and shut herself up in a convent at Rome. Atterbury had been, and continued to be, deeply involved in all the contemptible intrigues of the little Jacobite court, aiming at nothing less than at that supreme voice in their councils which had once belonged to his friend and ally Bolingbroke. This Protestant prelate caballed with priests, monks, and mistresses; took part with the husband against the injured wife; overthrew the influence of the Earl of Mar and General Dillon; and then, becoming jealous of Hay and Murray, the Pretender's new ministers, he took part with the wife against the husband, and reviled James as a selfish, dangerous, and incurable blockhead. He continued, however, to plot and cabal to the last, and died at Paris early in 1731, in the seventieth year of his age. Every man that joined the Pretender became convinced of his woeful incapacity, and that he ran a rapid race to misery and ruin. The volatile, debauched, but witty Duke of Wharton went abroad in the year 1726, attached himself to the Pretender's party, and embraced, or pretended to embrace, the Roman Catholic religion; and Lord North did the same. The latter nobleman soon left the jangling court in disgust, and entered the Spanish service, in which he died seven or eight years after. Wharton was sent to Madrid, in the time of Ripperda's mad schemes, to assist the Duke of Ormond in pressing for an invasion of England, and to justify or excuse the conduct of the Pretender to his wife. At Madrid he behaved like a

drunkard and madman. As for the inferior agents of the expelled family, they were, with a few exceptions, a base and knavish crew — the Jonathan Wilds of politics. Many of them took money on both sides the water, and communicated the letters with which they were intrusted to the cabinet of St. James's.

A.D. 1728.—The new parliament assembled on the 23rd of January, and was soon found to be as loyal and as compliant as the last. The king's speech was, at the first glance, rather alarming; he assured the Houses that it was absolutely necessary to continue those warlike preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, as the execution of the preliminaries signed at Paris in his father's time had been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raised chiefly by the obstinate opposition of Spain. Shippen again raised his bold voice in opposition, reflecting severely upon ministers, and abusing the fleet for not having rifled the galleons at Carthagena and plundered Porto Bello, "whereby we might have had those riches in our hands to dispute with the Spaniards." Sir William Wyndham seconded Shippen, and abused the languid measures of government and the dilatory course of their diplomacy; but their amendments were not risked to the chances of a division. George II., on his accession, had pretended to turn off the Germans that crowded the court, and to renounce that partiality for Hanover of which his father had been accused; yet he now obliged ministers to ask parliament for 230,000*l.* for the maintenance during this year of 12,000 German troops, described as Hessians, in the pay of England. Upon this strong point the opposition made a stand; but they could muster only 84 votes against 280. Other bargains were struck with the Duke of Brunswick, who was to receive a yearly subsidy of 25,000*l.*

The Congress of Soissons opened on the 19th of June, when the ministers of the Emperor, France, Spain, Great Britain, and the Northern Courts proceeded to perplex each other with an interminable series of memorials and counter-memorials. Cardinal Fleury had, however, effected a reconciliation between the courts of

Versailles and Madrid; and Lord Chesterfield, who was residing as ambassador at the Hague, had soon to announce that Philip and the Emperor, who had so recently pledged their faith to each other in the treaty of Vienna, were becoming irreconcilable enemies.

A.D. 1729.—Frederick, Prince of Wales, and heir to the throne, had hitherto been left at Hanover, and had never been allowed to visit England; but now he came over, and was received with exceeding great joy by the nation. He was twenty-one years of age, and seemed full of promise,—and, as Lord Mahon observes, the multitude are always apt to love an heir-apparent better than a king. If George had seen his arrival with satisfaction, he soon had occasion to regret the hour of his coming; for his son behaved to him precisely as he, when Prince of Wales, had behaved to his own father. The parliament assembled on the 21st of January, when the king still expressed something like an uncertainty as to whether we were to have peace or war; declaring, however, his unwillingness to kindle a new war in Europe precipitately. Spain, in fact, had interrupted the trade which had for some time been carried on by connivance, though not by actual permission, between the English colonies and the West Indies and her dominions on the South American continent; and the merchants of London and other places, suffering from this interruption, vented their complaints in petitions to parliament. Another complaint was, that the Spaniards were preventing the English from cutting logwood in Campeachy Bay. The Commons agreed in a declaration that the Spaniards had violated treaties; and also in an address desiring that his majesty would be pleased to use his utmost endeavours to procure a just and reasonable satisfaction for these injuries, and for securing to his majesty's subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America.

On the 14th of May, George terminated the session with a most gracious speech, in which he extolled the wisdom and patriotism of his Parliament. Soon after he departed for his German dominions, leaving Queen

Caroline sole regent during his absence. The queen, who continued to exercise the same authority in the like cases as long as she lived, gave almost universal satisfaction to the nation by her prudent and dignified conduct. To settle, if possible, the differences with Spain, the peace-loving Walpole now despatched the former ambassador, Mr. William Stanhope, to the Spanish court, which had fixed itself for a time at Seville. Stanhope was indisputably one of the most accomplished of English diplomatists; and on the 9th of November, after many vexations and difficulties, he brought to a conclusion the celebrated and advantageous treaty of Seville, by which Spain joined in a defensive alliance with England, France, and Holland, confirmed preceding treaties, revoked the exclusive privileges granted to the subjects of the Emperor by the treaty of Vienna, put the English trade in America on its former footing, restored all captures, and confirmed the Assiento. The question of Gibraltar was passed over in silence; but at the very same moment the Spaniards were devising and erecting works which they trusted would for ever cut off the communications of that glorious fortress with the main land, if they did not some day enable them to strike the English banner from its pride of place. In short, they were constructing the memorable lines of San Roque, or the Campo, which ran right across the narrow sandy isthmus that connects the rock with the Andalusian main; and no remonstrances on the part of England could make Philip desist.

A.D. 1730.—Parliament re-assembled in the month of January, when his majesty declared that the peace of Europe was now firmly established by the treaty of Seville. On the 16th of February the opposition proposed their famous Pension Bill, which went to disabl all persons from sitting in Parliament who had any pe sion, or any offices held in trust for them from the crow directly or indirectly; and which provided that ever member on taking his seat should take an oath that h had no pension, gratuity, reward, office, or place; an that in case of his afterwards accepting anything, h

should signify it to the House within fourteen days. Walpole himself, knowing how popular the Bill was abroad, was prudently silent, and the Bill was carried by a majority of 144 to 134. The odium of negativing it rested, therefore, with the Lords, who threw it out after a long debate and a protest entered by twenty-six peers. It appears that this business widened a breach which had for some time been open in the friendship of the two brothers-in-law. Walpole did not hesitate to oppose the motion, or to describe the Pension Bill as tending to erect the House into a court of inquisition. During the whole of his administration, however, he left the Bill, which was the most popularity-gaining measure of the opposition, to be rejected by the Lords. As soon as the Parliament had risen, Lord Townshend resigned, after a quarrel with Walpole, in which they almost came to blows. Townshend might have planted many a thorn in Walpole's side if he had gone into opposition; but he retired quietly to a country life, devoted himself to farming, and did more good to England by introducing the cultivation of the turnip from Germany than he could ever have done as one of "the patriots." Mr. William Stanhope, who had been created Earl of Harrington as a reward for the treaty of Seville, was now appointed secretary of state; Henry Pelham was made secretary at war, and the privy seal was given to Sir Spencer Compton, now Earl of Wilmington. The ascendancy of Walpole was absolute; and in peace abroad and growing prosperity at home, the nation saw little cause to repine at it. The good which Walpole did might certainly in many instances have been done in a higher and nobler manner; but, again, we must remember the lowness and baseness of the means he had at his disposal. Regardless of popular prejudices, he cemented our alliance with France; and he wisely overlooked many little squabbles which, under a less pacific minister, might have cost both nations much blood and treasure. He bore with the capricious insolence of the King of Spain, and he concluded an amicable treaty with the Emperor.

A.D. 1731.—When parliament met again our foreign policy was once more severely criticised by Sir William Wyndham and those who acted with him, and the old cry was repeated, somewhat out of season, that we were making ruinous treaties, solely on account of Hanover, that mill-stone hung to the neck of England to sink her for ever. Pulteney, formerly the bosom friend of Walpole, joined in these attacks; and he not only continued to write in the 'Craftsman' with Bolingbroke, but he also maintained a very questionable correspondence with the ministers of the foreign powers that were not quite pleased with the English cabinet. Parliament was prorogued in the month of May, and little occurred during the remainder of the year worthy of notice, unless it be a visit paid in the autumn to England by the Duke of Lorraine, who was destined to become the consort of Maria Theresa, the Emperor's only daughter, and who on this visit was deeply impressed with the wealth and prosperity of the country, and the kindness and courteousness of the English people. At this moment public credit seemed fully and firmly established, agriculture was improving, and our foreign trade was extending in every direction. In every sea then known was seen the busy flag of England, and her colonies were making prodigious strides from infancy to manhood.

A.D. 1732.—To the parliament, which met in January, George expressed his satisfaction at the general tranquillity, the happy effect of their zeal, attachment, and resolution. On the 1st of June George closed the session, informing the houses that he had determined to visit his German states, and to leave the Queen regent as before. During his residence at Hanover the decree of the Pragmatic Sanction was ratified and confirmed by the diet of the Empire, notwithstanding the oppositic and protests of the Electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and tl Palatinate, who each and all pretended to some shai of the Emperor's inheritance, in default of heirs male c his own body.

A.D. 1733.—On the meeting of parliament complaint were made that Spain had not yet made satisfaction f

the depredations which had been committed during the last quarrel upon British merchants; and the king was obliged to confess that the meetings of the commissioners of the two crowns had been delayed, and that he could give no perfect account of their proceedings. The fact was, the Spanish court pretended that all or most of these British merchants had been engaged in an illicit trade to the Spanish Main, and, according to their principle, nearly all trade, except that in negroes licensed by the Assiento, was smuggling. Walpole was reviled for not insisting upon immediate satisfaction, and for not throwing open the trade of the South American continent; but these were things not to be done without a war. The Pension Bill and a standing army were again debated with the same success as before. The sinking-fund, established by Walpole and Stanhope, had been kept sacred for nearly ten years, or during the whole reign of George I.; but since the accession of his son various encroachments had been made upon it, and now Walpole proposed to take half a million from it for the service of the current year. Sir John Barnard, member for London, and a practical economist and financier, represented that such a fund ought never to be turned from its original purpose of paying off debts, except in cases of extreme emergency; that to ease ourselves by loading our posterity is a poor, short-sighted expedient, the authors of which must expect the curses of posterity. Walpole, however, declared that if he were not allowed to take this half million from the sinking fund, he must move for a land-tax of two shillings in the pound: and this argument, addressed to the purses of country gentlemen and great landed proprietors, had such an effect that his original proposal was presently carried in the Commons by a majority of 110! The practice of alienating the sinking fund having been thus once sanctioned by parliament was afterwards continued without intermission. Walpole now produced his famous EXCISE SCHEME. The House having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the best methods for securing and improving the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco

and wines, all the papers and accounts relating to these duties were called for, and the commissioners of customs and excise were ordered to attend the House. A system of fraud and evasion was thus laid bare, and the complication, obscurity, and uncertainty of the accounts were made evident. The chief articles subjected to the excise duties were malt, salt, and the materials used in the distilleries, and the duties produced at this time somewhat above three millions per annum. In the midst of a universal storm and a deluge of pamphlets and broadsides, which represented that everything was to be taxed, that the people were to be ground to dust in order that the constitution might be overthrown and a tyranny established, Walpole, on the 14th of March, broached his design in a temperate speech. He proposed that the tobacco duty should be brought under the laws of excise, and that the excise laws themselves should be remodelled and improved. He also proposed a reduction in the duty, making it 4½*d.*, instead of sixpence and one-third of a penny. He suggested that the same rules might be afterwards applied to the duty upon wine, and that a system of bonding or warehousing for re-exportation might be instituted, "*which*," said Walpole, "*will tend to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world!*" By the increase of trade and of money thus levied, the land-tax, he said, might eventually be altogether abolished.

The tempting hope of the total abolition of the land-tax was calculated to dazzle the eyes of the country gentlemen; and the proffered system of bonding or warehousing was an immense advantage to the merchant, and, in reality, calculated to make England the great *porto franco* of the world; yet the vehemence of opposition was not softened. Wyndham declared, that in all countries excises of every kind were looked upon as badges of slavery, and he instituted a comparison between the ministers of the day and the rapacious favourites of Henry VII., Empson and Dudley, who, he said, "had the misfortune to outlive their master, and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took off both their heads!"

At two o'clock in the morning, when the debate had lasted thirteen hours, the House divided on the resolutions, when the minister found 266 for his scheme and 205 against it. He was little accustomed to such a large minority; and his good humour was not increased on his leaving the House, for a noisy mob, that had beset the doors during the debate, seized him by the cloak, and might have done him some bodily mischief but for the interference of Mr. Pelham. On the 16th of March, when the report of the committee was brought up, the debate was resumed with increased acrimony. Upon a division, however, Walpole had still a majority of 60, or 249 to 189. The popular ferment was as great as it had been on the 14th. On the 4th of April the bill founded on the report of the committee was read a first time, and, after a long debate, a motion, that it should be read a second time on that day se'nnight, was carried by a majority of only 36: and the next day, when Walpole moved that the bill should be printed and distributed to the members of the House, he carried his point by a majority of only 16. The lord mayor of London, however, contrived to obtain a copy of the bill, and under his direction the common council drew up a violent petition against it. Similar petitions were sent up from Nottingham, Coventry, and other inland towns; and "the public," says Tindal, "was so heated with papers and pamphlets, that matters rose next to a rebellion." Warned by these evil omens and by his decreasing majority, Walpole made up his mind to relinquish the bill for the present. And accordingly, on the 11th of August, the day appointed for the second reading, Walpole moved that it should be postponed till the 12th of June, before which day it was known that parliament would rise. The opposition were dissatisfied at this quiet mode of dropping the measure. Out of doors there was more noise and rejoicing than had ever been known at our greatest victories: bonfires were lit in the streets, the Monument was illuminated, and the minister Walpole was burnt in effigy. Cockades were worn with the motto, "Liberty, Property, and no Excise." The provincial towns fol-

lowed the example of the capital; but the learned university of Oxford, filled with the fumes of tobacco and Jacobitism, outdid itself: the gownsmen joined the rabble of the town in their noisy rejoicings; curses of Walpole were mingled with Jacobite cries and cant phrases, and these Saturnalia on the banks of the Isis lasted three days and three nights. As Queen Caroline had gone freely into the excise scheme, and partook in the pangs of Walpole's disappointment, it was the more easy for him to chastise certain noblemen and gentlemen, who, though holding office, had criticised or opposed the bill. Thus Lord Chesterfield, who had become lord steward of the household, was very abruptly and unceremoniously deprived of his white staff, and Lord Clinton, a lord of the bed-chamber, the Earl of Burlington, captain of the band of pensioners, and the Duke of Montrose and the Earls of Marchmont and Stair, who held lucrative and sinecure offices in Scotland, were all dismissed. Nor did the ministerial vengeance stop here: the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, who had no offices about the court, were deprived of their regiments for their opposition. This seemed an unjustifiable stretch of the prerogative, and in the next session led to warm debates in the House of Commons.

In the course of the session of 1733 another bill for preventing "the infamous practice of stock-jobbing" was laid aside, in consequence of some amendments proposed by the Commons. The Commons also voted 80,000*l.* as a marriage-portion to the princess royal, who was affianced to the Prince of Orange. The prince arrived in England in the month of November, and, after he had for some time drunk the waters of Bath to improve his health, the nuptials were solemnised in the French chapel at St. James's, on the 14th of February of the followin year (1734).

But, though pacific in England, the year 1733 was i other parts of Europe a year of strife and contentio.. Augustus II., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died in the month of February, when the Polish crown became, as usual, the object of a disgraceful struggle,

which went by the name of "election." The competitors were Augustus, Elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king, and Stanislaus Leczinski, who had already been King of Poland, but who had been driven from his throne on the downfall of Charles XII. of Sweden, who, rather by force of arms than by any other right, had made him king. By a strange combination of circumstances the daughter of Stanislaus, even when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and he was an exile and proscribed, had become the wife of young Louis XV., and was now Queen of France. The French people made it a point of honour to procure for the father of their queen the crown which he had formerly worn, and the government resolved to support and assist Stanislaus. On the other side Augustus was supported by the Emperor Charles and the Czarina Anne of Russia, who, on the death of Peter I.'s widow Catherine, and a revolution which set aside Peter II., had ascended the throne of that country. France had for a long time ceased to have any connection with Poland, and was at the moment unacquainted with the state of affairs in that country, and unprepared with the means of making any great effort. But Stanislaus, who was residing there, set out for his native country in disguise; and, attended by only one officer, he presented himself to the Boles at Warsaw, and was received with acclamations. The majority of the nation, or of the nobles who exercised the right of king-making by vote, were decidedly in his favour, and 60,000 suffrages recalled him to the throne. But the Czarina had resolved that the question should not be left to the decision of the Poles; three Russian armies hovered on the frontiers, and threatened to inundate the kingdom; and Augustus III. and the minority of the noble electors of Poland were soon in the Russian camp, and inviting the Muscovites into the heart of their country. In a brief space of time the whole of the Lithuanian provinces were occupied by the Muscovites, and Stanislaus was compelled to fly from the capital and shut himself up in Dantzic. There he was soon besieged by a confederate army of Russians, Saxons, and Polish partisans. The

defence was heroic and long. Eight thousand of the Czarina's troops are said to have fallen in one assault; but the end of all was, that Stanislaus was again obliged to disguise himself and to fly. His rival was then proclaimed King of Poland under the guns and bayonets of Russia, and the adherents of Stanislaus either submitted or carried on a hopeless, desultory, partisan warfare, which contributed to throw the country still farther back into barbarity, and to render it more and more an easy prey to Russia. The Emperor Charles had left the business to be settled by the Czarina; but this was rather through want of ability than any want of inclination to interfere, and he had indirectly aided and assisted Augustus, and injured the cause of the protégé of France. Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of Cardinal Fleury, the French court determined to resent this conduct, and they found the court of Madrid quite ready to join in a war against the Emperor; for, besides old scores of animosities, the Queen of Spain, who had secured to her son the dukedom of Parma, aspired to placing him on the throne of Naples, which was weakly defended for the Emperor. Everything depended upon despatch, and armies, both French and Spanish, were prepared in a wonderfully short space of time. Walpole wisely endeavoured to prevent the firing of the first cannon, but his efforts were unsuccessful; and in the course of the following year some of the fairest parts of Europe were again scourged by the march of hostile forces, and the diplomatic scissors were once more employed to reshape and refashion dominions, principalities, and powers.

A.D. 1734.—The English parliament met on the 17th of January, when the king attended to the war which had begun on the Continent, and which he said proved the necessity of increasing our forces at home. Tl opposition, whose plans of attack had been principall organised by Bolingbroke, were soon found to be mo formidable than they had hitherto been. Our foreig policy, and the internal administration, were equally attacked; and, after a variety of minor efforts, a proposal to repeal the Septennial Bill was brought in on the

18th of March by Mr. Bromley, the son of Queen Anne's Tory secretary of state. The disaffected of the Whigs, it appears, had long scrupled about voting for the repeal of a bill which they themselves had once thought necessary for the security of the Protestant succession, but they were brought over by the persuasions of Bolingbroke and the determined will of the Tories, with whom they were now acting, and without whom they would have formed a very insignificant minority. Still, however, these Whigs were rather shy of the debate, and Pulteney, their head, delivered only a short speech, and that, too, in an embarrassed manner. The Tory chief, Sir William Wyndham, fought the battle; and in a very remarkable speech, which has been considered as one of the most powerful specimens of the parliamentary eloquence of that day, he hypothetically described Walpole as the most dangerous of all villains. In reply, Walpole scarcely noticed Wyndham, whom he probably considered, on this occasion, as the mere mouth-piece of Bolingbroke; but upon that flagitious politician he laid a brand of fire which burnt through flesh and skin, and went heart-deep. He fixed the infamy of the Peace of Utrecht upon the brilliant profligate; he charged him home with his un-English feelings, his anti-national principles; he exposed his base intrigues with France, and the course he had pursued both as a minister of her majesty Queen Anne, and as secretary of state to the Pretender. He met hypothetical cases, and prophecies for the future with facts—proved, palpable facts—derived from Bolingbroke's past history. The wit and man of pleasure was quite crest-fallen; and, as he announced shortly after this debate his intention of leaving England and giving up his factious contest as hopeless, it has been assumed that Walpole's speech was the cause of this resolution.* In the rest of his famous speech

* Lord Mahon is correct in showing that there were other causes—that this could not be the sole cause of Bolingbroke's retiring to the Continent; but it may, nevertheless, have contributed among other causes. Neither Bolingbroke nor his friends could ever give anything like a consistent reply to Walpole's allegations.

Walpole exhibited with sufficient coolness the reasons which made him prefer septennial parliaments to triennial, or to parliaments of shorter duration. The triennial law, he said, ran too much into that form of government which is properly called democratical; which form was liable to these inconveniences—that it was generally too tedious in coming to any resolution, and seldom brisk enough in carrying its resolutions into execution—was never steady in any measures, and was often involved in factious seditions and insurrections, which exposed the country to the risk of being made the tool, if not the prey, of her neighbours. No prudent administration, he said, would ever resolve upon any measure of importance till they had felt not only the pulse of the parliament, but also the pulse of the people; and with triennial elections ministers would labour under this disadvantage—that, as secrets of state must not always be immediately divulged, their enemies would have a handle for exposing their measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the people, and thereby carrying a new election against them, before they could have an opportunity of justifying their measures by divulging the facts and circumstances upon which they were based. "*Then*," said he, "*it is by experience well known that what is called the populace, in every country, are apt to be too much elated with success, and too much dejected with every misfortune.*" It was in vain that the Opposition asserted that the septennial law was an encroachment on the rights of the people—a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial—that this long-enduring parliament had effected unconstitutional alterations in the laws of treason, and imposed the Riot Act—that it had passed the fatal South Sea Bill, and had almost passed the late odious Excise Bill:—upon a division Walpole found himself supported by a majority of 247 to 184.

On the 16th of April, having sat near its full term, parliament was dissolved by a speech from the throne, in which George spoke again of the prosperity and glory of the country. In about a month after this the new elections came on, and were conducted with great heat. The Excise scheme, the Riot Act, the unsettled state of

our commercial claims upon Spain, were all very popular and exciting topics; and the Tories, who would have exclaimed against a war if ministers had gone into one, now represented the neutrality of Great Britain as dangerous and disgraceful. By these cries, and by other means not purer than those resorted to by Walpole, the Opposition gained several seats.

Spain and France on the one side, and the Emperor Charles on the other, seem to have made sure of the co-operation of the King of Sardinia, who held, in a manner, the key of Italy, and who, with the usual policy of his House, had given promises to both, and was resolved to act according to circumstances. At last France and Spain outbid Austria; and, while his envoy at Vienna was actually pledging his faith to the Emperor, his Sardinian majesty joined the French and Spaniards, burst into the Milanese, and overran the whole of Austrian Lombardy. At the same time a strong body of Spanish infantry was landed at Genoa, a mass of cavalry was sent by land to Antibo, and a strong French and Spanish fleet domineered in the Italian seas. The Spanish forces were directed by the Count de Montemar, but, "for fame and dignity of name," were under the supreme command of the Infant Don Carlos, who had been for some time settled in his Italian dominions at Parma. The object in view was no secret—it was to deprive Austria of Lombardy and the Two Sicilies (*i. e.*, Naples and the island) "which," wrote the Queen of Spain to her favourite son Carlos, "being created an independent kingdom, shall be thine. Go, then, and conquer. The finest crown of Italy expects thee."* Don Carlos was little more than seventeen years old; but he was active, ambitious, and not without ability. He had a very advantageous person, excellent manners and address, and he was encouraged and favoured underhand by Pope Clement XII., who liked not to see the Austrians settled on both sides of him. In the month of March he assembled in Perugia 16,000 foot and 5000 horse, Spaniards, French, and Ita-

* Pietro Colletta.—Muratori.

lians; and then, with his prime adviser, and afterwards his excellent minister, the Pisan advocate and professor of *Jus publicum*, Bernardo Tanucci, he held a council of war, which was attended by many Neapolitan princes and nobles dissatisfied with the Austrian government, by many grandees of Spain who wanted to recover the vast estates and power they had lost in Naples and Sicily, by the Count de Marsillac, and many Frenchmen of distinction. It was presently resolved to advance with all speed to the city of Naples. In less than six weeks the Neapolitan dominions, or, rather, the Austrians in them, were conquered, the lazzaroni of the capital, and the peasantry of the provinces, taking up arms for Don Carlos. But Count Traun kept the flag of the Emperor flying a little longer over the walls of Capua, which did not surrender till the month of November. The island of Sicily, which had been so recently won from Spain by the English fleet and the Austrian army for the Emperor Charles, made even less resistance than the Continental kingdom, and its conquest was effected with less bloodshed than had often been spent at the taking of an outpost. Don Carlos remained undisputed master of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Such was the fate of the war in Italy; nor was it much more favourable to the Emperor on the Rhine, though there the Imperialists were commanded by that great soldier Prince Eugene, the rival of the fame of Marlborough. The French in superior force, and under the command of Marlborough's nephew, the almost equally favoured Duke of Berwick, crossed the Rhine and invested Philipsbourg. But before the walls of this place Berwick ended his career, being killed by a cannon-ball. The command of the French army then fell to the Marquis d'Asfeld, who took Philipsbourg after a trying siege, in spite of all the skill and efforts of Eugene, who scarcely took any active part in war after this unfortunate campaign, and who died about two years afterwards at Vienna. The Emperor called upon all Europe for succour and assistance, representing that the schemes of Louis XIV. were reviving—that the worst consequences ever apprehended from the union of France

and Spain were now realizing; and he entertained some hopes that England and Holland would again take up arms to curb the ambition of France.

A.D. 1735.—On the opening of parliament, in the month of January, the minority was found to be larger than formerly; but the majority was still an overwhelming one. The king expressed his concern at the present commotions on the Continent; and said that, though he had hitherto resisted the pressing solicitations of the Emperor for aid in this war, he hoped that his subjects would not repine at furnishing the necessary means of placing him in a situation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him. The Opposition, or some of the *patriots* who had been exclaiming so recently on the hustings that England was dishonoured by keeping out of this Continental war, now declared that she ought never to intermeddle in the unintelligible and everlasting broils upon the Continent, but keep herself quiet and reduce the standing army instead of increasing it; but the majority nevertheless voted an increase of the forces both for land and sea, and furnished the necessary supplies. A subsidy was also voted to Denmark. The session was closed in the month of May, and then George, leaving his queen as sole regent, took his departure for Hanover. Bolingbroke had gone to the Continent some months before, with the intention of spending the remainder of his life in France.

The Emperor thought that at last he haddiscovered a certain means of moving both the Dutch and English governments to take a part in the Continental war; and he actually threatened to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands and cede that country to the French, whose occupancy of it had always been the stalking terror of Holland and England. But, as Walpole still remained averse to war and unmoved by a threat which he no doubt believed would never be realised, the Emperor endeavoured to overthrow that ministry by a cabinet intrigue to be headed by Lord Harrington, who was known to be in favour of an armed interference. To this end one Abbé Strickland, whohad intrigued for the Jacobites

and against them, and who lived and thrived by intrigue, was sent over to England; but Walpole soon found out the abbé under his false name, and Queen Caroline sent him out of England, intimating at the same time to the court of Vienna that they had been deceived by false reports, and that England would on no account engage in this war. Nothing therefore was left but submission, and the Emperor finally consented to accept the mediation of the maritime powers. The march of armies was then stopped, and the diplomatists began their campaign, which, as usual, was very long and very formal. If the French minister, Cardinal Fleury, had not been as pacific as Walpole, it is quite certain that the business would never have been settled by the pen. In the end, however, it was agreed that Naples and Sicily should remain to Don Carlos, as a separate kingdom, independent of Spain and every other country; and that the infant, on the other hand, should resign Parma and his other possessions in Italy, together with the reversion of Tuscany —that the Milanese should be restored to the Emperor—that Augustus, the protégé of Russia and Austria, should remain King of Poland—that his rival Stanislaus, the French king's father-in-law, should retain the royal title, and be put in possession of the duchy of Lorraine, which, after his decease, should devolve to the French crown, and be incorporated politically, as it was physically, with the kingdom of France. The Duke of Lorraine, weak and a mere vassal as he was, had rights which could not well be overlooked, and he had a natural reluctance to resign to the Pole his paternal dominions; but eventually the young Duke of Lorraine, who was going to marry Maria Theresa, the heiress of the Emperor's states under the Pragmatic Sanction, was induced to comply by the persuasions and authority of his Imperial majesty, by a pension from France, and by being promised the succession to Tuscany in lieu of Don Carlos. The treaty further stipulated that both France and Sardinia should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, upon which the tranquillity of Europe, and the safety or greatness of the Emperor's daughter, depended. His Sardinian majesty,

who had played so double a part, was rewarded with the cession of Novara, Tortona, and other districts sliced off from the Emperor's Lombard dominions. France was well satisfied with the acquisition of Lorraine, which neither Richelieu nor Mazarin had been able to acquire. The people of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies were also gainers by these arrangements, for, instead of hungry viceroys, ever changing, from Madrid or Vienna, they got a king and a court of their own; and the government of Don Carlos and his minister Tanucci was, on the whole, a blessing to the country.

Avoiding one war for the Emperor, England ran some risk of being brought into another for her ally the King of Portugal. The origin of this quarrel was sufficiently insignificant. The government at Madrid accused the servants of the Portuguese minister there of rescuing a criminal, and threw the said servants into prison. Every foreign ambassador at Madrid took part with the Portuguese envoy, and considered himself insulted in the infraction of the ambassadorial privileges. On the other side, the proud Spaniards would make no apology or concession. The dispute, embittered by memorials and counter-memorials, ran so high, that hostilities between Spain and Portugal seemed inevitable, and the court of Lisbon sent over to London Don Antonio d'Alzevedo to claim the assistance of their close ally King George. Our obligation to give this assistance was indisputable and imperative; and Walpole forthwith sent a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line to the Tagus, taking care, however, well to instruct the admiral, Sir John Norris, that he was to act only defensively, and, in case of Spain's beginning hostilities, to represent to the Portuguese the expediency and advantage of moderation. So strong an English fleet riding in the Tagus produced an immediate effect at Madrid, where also the British resident intimated to his Catholic majesty that England must, and assuredly would, protect her faithful ally. Cardinal Fleury joined in this good work of peace, and the quarrel was soon made up without the logic of cannon-balls.

A.D. 1736.—When the parliament met, in the month

of January, George announced that the affairs of Europe had taken a very happy turn, and that this would enable him to make a considerable reduction in the forces both by sea and land. The congratulatory address was carried not only without a division, but without a syllable of criticism or opposition. It was *gin* that disturbed this harmony. The vice of drunkenness had always been the worst defect of the English people, and it was conceived by Sir Joseph Jekyll and others that it had lately been on the increase, and that the best way to stop it was to put so heavy a tax upon gin as should make that liquor too dear for the poor, who chiefly or solely used it. Jekyll brought in a bill proposing that a duty of twenty shillings per gallon should be laid upon gin and other spirituous liquors, that no unlicensed persons should be allowed to retail the same, and that every licensed retailer should pay fifty pounds per annum for his licence. Walpole foresaw that these extravagant duties would lead to smuggling and fraud, and that his successors in office would be obliged to modify the bill which they now carried. The duties hitherto levied upon gin, &c., had belonged to the civil list, and had not exceeded 70,000*l.* per annum; but Walpole demanded that whatever deficiency might happen from the reduced consumption of duty-paying spirits should be made good to the crown, and obtained a vote to that effect. This Gin Act did as little good to the public morality as to the public revenue. Clandestine dealers increased their trade, and then were made only more vicious and reckless by being thrown into prison to pay fines which they either could not or would not pay. One of the great Hogarth's engravings was likely to do better service than a thousand bills like Sir Joseph Jekyll's, which certainly, however, had the effect of serving the purposes of the Opposition by increasing Walpole's unpopularity. In the month of March Mr. Plumer prematurely brought forward a motion for repealing the Test Act. The motion was negatived by a majority of 251 to 123. Nearly at the same time, however, the minister warmly supported a bill for the relief of the Quakers. The

clergy took alarm, cried out spoliation, and blew their loudest blasts; petitions against the Quakers' petition were poured into the House, setting forth "that such a law would be extremely prejudicial to themselves and brethren, excluding them from the benefit of the law then in being for the recovery of tithes and other dues, and thereby putting the clergy of the established church upon a worse foot than the rest of his majesty's subjects; and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill." The Quakers, however, had gained the universal esteem of the nation by their exemplary moral conduct and elevated notions of mutual charity; they had many and warm friends in the Commons, and the House generally seemed to favour the bill. Yet it was found necessary to submit the measure to numerous alterations in committee; for example, it was inserted that all church and chapel rates, if refused by Quakers, were, upon complaint of the church-wardens, to be levied by distress, by order of two justices; but no Quaker was to be sued or prosecuted in any other manner for non-payment of church and chapel rates. The bill, clogged with other clauses, was carried through the Commons by a majority of 164 to 48; but the Lords threw it out by a majority of 54 to 35. Walpole, who, among other considerations, was anxious to gratify the numerous and influential body of Quakers established in his native county of Norfolk—a body that had stood by him in many a stern contest—was furious at this rejection, which he chiefly attributed to the bishops.

The session of parliament closed on the 26th of May; and then his majesty went to Hanover. This time the temporary regency of Queen Caroline was far from being so tranquil as it had been on former occasions. The gin mobs were not yet tranquillized, and other riots were caused in London by the employment in the Spitalfields looms of a number of poor Irish, who had come over to mow and reap, but who had engaged to help to weave silk at two-thirds of the ordinary wages. But the disturbances in London were trifles compared to a tremendous popular outbreak in the city of Edinburgh. The tale of

the Porteous riot scarcely needs telling, for it has been told by Sir Walter Scott in one of the best and most read of his exquisite Waverley novels.*

A.D. 1737.—The parliament this year did not open till the 1st of February. Its first debates were upon the Edinburgh tumults, and were characterized by a violence almost as inexcusable as that of the Porteous mob. There were madmen in both Houses, who, if they had had their way, would have converted a night riot into a long and bloody civil war. A fierce vindictive bill was brought in proposing nothing less than to abolish the city charter of Edinburgh, raze the city gates, disband the city guard, and fine and imprison and render the provost, Mr. Wilson, for ever incapable of holding any public office. Witnesses were examined at the bar of the Lords, and even three Scottish judges in their robes were subjected to questionings and cross-questionings; yet all that could be fairly proved against the provost and magistrates was, that they had been somewhat careless; that they had disregarded some indirect warnings, and that they had been taken by surprise. But the strong Scottish feeling of nationality, which could often rise even in courtly lords and members of parliament high above the love of lucre and every other consideration, blazed forth with a heat which alarmed and deterred the prosecuting party. In the Lords the Duke of Argyll denounced the bill as contrary to law and justice; and in the Commons the wise and patriotic Duncan Forbes, though holding office under the crown as lord-advocate for Scotland, spoke eloquently and vehemently in the same sense; and, though Walpole replied, the Scottish lawyer was generally considered to have had the best of the argument. Walpole, however, was wise enough to declare that he by no means made the bill a ministerial question. In the end it was rendered almost "stingless;" the most obnoxious clauses were allowed to drop one by one, and nothing was left but an act for disabling Alexander Wilson, the provost, from taking, holding, or enjoying

* 'Heart of Mid Lothian.'

any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain, and for imposing a fine upon the said corporation of Edinburgh of 2000*l.* for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. And so, as some humourist at the time observed, the end of all these great debates was, the making the fortune of an old cook-maid. There was, however, a second bill, originated by the Lords, containing a clause compelling the ministers of the Scottish church to read once every month for twelve months to come a proclamation from their pulpits, calling on their congregations to find out and bring to justice the murderers of Porteous. This order was exceedingly odious to the majority of the Presbyterian clergy, who complained, with some reason, that it was making the pulpit a place of hue-and-cry. Other conscientious preachers objected that, as the proclamation mentioned the lords spiritual in parliament, their reading of it might look like an acknowledgment of episcopacy, which they still abhorred. Between the bill and proclamation, the violence of the people and the irritation of the clergy, Walpole lost materially in his hold on the Scotch burghs; and this he was made to feel at the next elections.

The remaining debates of the present session were chiefly of a financial nature. In a committee of supply on the 9th of March, Walpole moved that a sum of one million should be taken from the sinking fund, and applied to relieve some of the old South Sea annuitants. On the 14th this resolution was agreed to. But then Sir John Barnard proposed that the House should resolve itself into committee to consider the national debt, and receive any proposals which might be made to reduce the rate of interest to 3 per cent. The minister, after speaking about the danger of meddling with public credit, or taking any step likely to affect it, consented, and on the 21st the House resolved itself into a committee of supply. The national debt was proved to amount to 47,866,596*l.* Sir John Barnard produced his scheme, which was, that his majesty might be enabled to borrow money at 3 per cent. to redeem old South Sea annuities and others for which a higher rate of interest was paid.

The landed interest seconded the project, captivated by the notion of getting money at 3 per cent.; but the moneyed interest, the capitalists, in general opposed it, and, after a long debate and some of those parliamentary manœuvres of which Walpole was so great a master, it was rejected.

In the spring of the preceding year Frederick Prince of Wales, who had fixed his heart upon his cousin, Frederica of Prussia, reluctantly married, at the instigation of his father, Augusta, Princess of Saxe Gotha, whose beauty and accomplishments seem soon to have made him forget his former unhappy passion. But marriage increases expense; and as, out of a civil list of 800,000*l.*, the prince received only 50,000*l.* a-year, he was much straitened, and the Opposition, who had fastened upon him almost from the first moment of his arrival in England, easily led him to consider himself as ill used by a grasping and avaricious father. Two years before, Bolingbroke, who had been one of the prince's chief admirers, had recommended him to set his father at defiance, and apply to parliament for a settled revenue of 100,000*l.* a-year independent of him. It is probable that Bolingbroke's friend Wyndham gave the same advice, and that Pulteney and Chesterfield, Carteret and Cobham, and the other members of the mixed opposition of Whig and Tory who called themselves "the patriots," and who maintained a close intercourse with the prince, were equally regardless of the Fifth Commandment. Bubb Dodington, who has been described as "a man of some talent, and a patron of two boroughs,"* but who, by a severer pen, might be set down as one of the most thorough-going jobbers of those jobbing days, takes to himself the credit of attempting to dissuade the prince from following the advice of Bolingbroke. Bubb confesses, however, that his royal highness requested his assistance, "and designed partly to employ him in the measure," which would have been dangerous at that moment to his (Bubb's) own interests. "The prince," he

* Lord Mahon.

says, "entered into very bitter complaints of the usage he had all along met with from the administration, and even from their majesties: that he was not allowed wherewithal to live, &c., that he was resolved to endure it no longer, and had determined to make a demand in parliament of a jointure for the princess, and of 100,000*l.* per annum for himself, which his father had when prince, and which he looked on to be his right, both in law and equity."

His royal highness had been corresponding with, and had received promises from, nearly all the leading Jacobites and disaffected Whigs, who held out the double hope of procuring by their joint efforts in parliament, the 100,000*l.* per annum for the prince, and the dismissal, impeachment, and ruin of Walpole. Bubb wished for the minister's downfall very earnestly, but he told his royal highness that this did not seem to him the proper way of effecting it—that it would only make the king's cause and Walpole's inseparable, and rivet the minister yet faster where his only strength lay. At this very moment, George the Second was sick, and even apprehended to be in danger. Bubb says that he begged the prince to consider this circumstance, and to reflect how far it might be consistent with the *greatness and generosity of his character* to make such an attack, when his father was in a languishing condition. He says that the prince replied "that he was sensible of that, but he could not help it: he was engaged; and would go through: *the king could not live many years, but might linger thus a good while, and he could not stay that while.*" Bubb suggested that no great harm would be done if the business were left over to another session; but the prince said that it could not be, that his honour was too far engaged, that he could not and would not wait.* Dodington assures us that he neither directly promised nor refused to vote for the proposal, and that he

* The Diary of the late George Bubb Dodington, Baron of Melcombe Regis; from March 8, 1749, to February 6, 1761. Appendix—Narrative of what passed between the Prince and Mr. Dodington.

left his royal highness with very great uneasiness and perplexity upon his own mind, considerably augmented "by the great ease and tranquillity that appeared upon the prince's"—"which," he adds, with a glorious disregard of the feelings of nature, "is the natural effect of great resolutions, when they are fixed and determined." This precious courtier thought it necessary to warn his friend, Sir Paul Methuen, of this disagreeable business, and he says that he and Sir Paul "joined in lamenting the fate of this country to be divided and torn to pieces by a disunion in this royal family, which, with so many ardent wishes, and with the profusion of so much blood and treasure, we had at last so happily placed on the throne, to end all our divisions, and protect us in union and tranquillity." They agreed that Sir Paul, when sent for by the prince, should seem not to be any ways apprised of the affair, but should lay hold on any opportunity that might be given him to represent to his royal highness the probable fate and consequences of the undertaking. Bubb and Methuen then waited upon the Duke of Dorset and the other lords, who agreed to do their utmost to prevent this ill-advised attempt, and to declare plainly to the prince that they would oppose it, as fatal to his royal highness, injurious to the king, and destructive to the quiet and tranquillity of the whole country; and they desired Dodington to speak in the same way to the prince. A day or two after, Sir Paul Methuen had an interview with the Prince of Wales, to whom he represented the danger and impracticability of the measure, and "used all possible arguments that a good head and a good heart could suggest to dissuade him from it; but all without effect." Seeing that he could not move this most royal obstinacy, Methuen ventured to declare that he could not give the prince his vote in the House. This resolution however, was soon modified by a promise that, as he coul not vote for him, he would not vote against him—that h would not vote at all. On the very next day the princ summoned Dodington to another private conference, and insinuated that Sir Paul Methuen had appeared to be well enough satisfied with the proposition. The prince

rejoined that everybody was for him—that he was absolutely determined to bring it in—that he would hear no advice upon it—and that if there were but seven of the Commons, and three in the Lords for him, he would do it. Dodington says that he then said that he thought it necessary to lay his humble opinion before him; and that the prince told him he did not want his opinion. "I replied," continues Bubb, "that I did not presume to offer my opinion as to what was to guide his actions, but to lay before him what was to direct and govern my own; which I should be glad to take the first opportunity of doing, this not being a proper one, because I saw one of the gentlemen coming to acquaint his royal highness that dinner was served." The prince took no notice of this, but walked farther into the garden where they were talking, and showed Bubb a letter from the "humoursome, proud, and capricious" Duke of Somerset, as he has been called, who had once played a great part by accident, but who never showed any real political capacity of a high order. Somerset entertained so extravagant an opinion of his own value and importance that it was impossible any king or court should satisfy him; he was therefore discontented with the father; but he was not disposed to give himself much trouble for the son; and his letter contained one of those interminable accounts of the infirmities of his precious health which he was accustomed to write, an assurance that it was impossible for him to come up to town, a sly reference to Lord Winchelsea for his opinion about his royal highness's intention, and wishes that his royal highness might live many years in health, prosperity, and plenty. After talking about this unmeaning letter, and saying that though his grace should not come up he was quite sure he would send his proxy, the prince talked vehemently about his difficulties, and declared (as other princes of the family have done since) that, as he had sacrificed himself to the nation in marrying, the nation ought to stand by him.*

* "And yet," says Bobb Dodington, "the princess was the best and most agreeable woman in the world."

As Bubb was a placeman, the prince's next argument or invective had a direct personal application. He said that if people would value their employments more than right and justice, he could not help it; though he was so strong that he was sure the court durst not touch any one that voted for him. Bubb, however, says that he thought himself obliged to declare to the prince, with exceeding great concern, that if the matter came into parliament he should think himself bound in honour and conscience to give his absolute dissent to it. The prince was very angry, but curbed himself a little—said that in the Prince of Denmark's time there were gentlemen that valued doing right more than their employments—but he was sorry the race of them was extinct—and so they went to dinner. "As soon as dinner and drinking was over," continues Bubb, "we rose, and I shuffled myself into the midst of the company, in order to get away with the first of them, when he should please to make us his bow; but he dismissed them all, and ordered me to come with him into the little room." The conversation which followed lasted nearly two hours, and, according to Bubb, "contained a great deal of repetition." The prince said he should leave off talking about his own interests to talk a little about Bubb's, whose reputation in the world would suffer extremely by his leaving him at this juncture. He reminded the courtier that he had already gone great lengths with him in his opposition to his father and ministers, and that there would be no safety for him if he did not go on to finish the work and overthrow Walpole. Bubb says that he spoke about his conscience and his honour, which would both oblige him to dissent. His highness then asked whether he had never given a vote against his conscience or opinion—to which Bubb replied that he had certainly *given many, and believed it to be the case with every body who acted with a party, either for or against an administration.* The prince, he says, then tried to overpower him with an array of names of men high in influence, who had promised their support; and asked him to go and consult Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney. Bubb shuffled out of this as well as he could;

and then his royal highness tried whether the lawyers would not have more weight than laymen, and assured Bubb that the Master of the Rolls had told him that what he asked was his right in equity. But the courtier, according to his own account, was proof even against a lawyer, and represented that it could scarcely be equity to take the allotment of the estate or civil list vested in the crown out of the king's hands. But all these and many other arguments were completely thrown away upon the prince, who was resolved to proceed, though now convinced that neither the Duke of Argyll nor Lord Scarborough, the Duke of Dorset nor Lord Wilmington, Sir Thomas Frankland nor Sir Conyers Darcy, would vote for him—which keeping back he attributed to their having employments at court or to their being full of fears. His father, he said, was unpopular—he himself was popular—and therefore he must succeed in the end, in spite of placemen and cowards.*

On the next day, Sunday, the 13th of February, or, at latest, on Monday, the 14th, Walpole got the first hint of what was intended; but by the 16th the whole matter was public. On that evening Bubb was stopped by several gentlemen in the House of Commons, who desired his advice and opinion; and Sir Robert Walpole requested him to stay till the House rose, that he might speak with him. When the House was almost empty these two retired behind the chair; and then Bubb took credit to himself for having done his best to prevent this "great question;" saying, that for three years and more it had been the great struggle of his life to keep the prince from it. The minister begged the pliant courtier to engage his friends—by which Dodington understood him to mean five members whom he names—not to vote for the measure; and desired him not to do the thing "*by halves.*" From Dodington's reply we must conclude that by *wholes* Walpole meant

* Appendix to the same Diary. Bubb Dodington says that all he here put down was while the transaction was fresh, and to aid his own memory.

bribes, for he subjoins—"I told him that they were independent gentlemen; that, though their fortunes were not large, yet they were sufficient, and they were resolved they always should be sufficient to keep them in independency; and that he best knew *they had not been regarded or treated in a manner to give them any great present expectations.*" Here the minister interrupted him, and said,—"Well, we understand one another;"—and no doubt they did, thoroughly. Bubb, however, returning to solid things, said that, as he knew his friends had no present expectations, he would by no means undertake to say how far they would care to forfeit the prospect of future favours and advantages under the Prince of Wales when he should be king. Walpole replied that there had indeed been great misunderstandings between him and those gentlemen; but then so great a service as this would wipe out a multitude of sins. In other words, the minister was willing to give the multitude of places, or honours, or pounds sterling, for the service he wanted, or for the preventing of the parliamentary onslaught of the prince. Bubb, like most men in similar situations, protested that he wanted nothing, expected nothing, for himself—and said that he would lay the matter fairly before his friends, and plainly tell them that he intended to vote against the prince. "I did so the same night," he continues, "and they, *from their own judgments, entirely unbiassed, or attempted to be so by me,* all determined to vote for the king." On the next Sunday Bubb attended a meeting of parliament men at the minister's, and, when the company was gone, he told Sir Robert of his success with his friends; and then, in the most approved manner, asked the minister for his reward. But after all, Bubb had only secured the votes of a few second or third-rate men—he had not won over Sir William Wyndham, nor had he made any impression on Pulteney or Sir John Barnard—the measure was not stopped, and the prince ran his course notwithstanding a message sent to him by the king at Walpole's persuasion, promising to settle a large jointure upon the princess, and to

render his own income independent of his father's control. At this moment when this offer was made by the lord chancellor (Hardwicke) and other great officers of state,* the king was worse than he had been, and indeed so bad that his recovery was despaired of. Yet, on the very next day, the 22nd of February, Pulteney brought forward the motion in the House of Commons, in the form of an address, beseeching the king to settle upon the prince 100,000*l.* a-year, and the same jointure on the princess as the queen had enjoyed when she was Princess of Wales, and assuring his majesty that that House would provide him with the necessary means. Pulteney supported his motion by a long historical speech full of references to heirs apparent and heirs presumptive, Princes of Wales, and Princesses of Wales; queens and queen dowagers, and consorts of queens; and he endeavoured to prove that, by equity, good policy, law, and precedent, the prince had a right to what was demanded, and an indefeasible claim to a permanent and independent establishment, which the king had it not in his power either to withhold or control. Sir John Barnard, the man of finance and economy, seconded Pulteney; and Walpole replied to both. He began with a courtly fiction, saying that, from his personal knowledge of the two great characters concerned, he was convinced that neither of them would think himself injured by any gentleman's giving his opinion or voting freely in parlia-

* Hardwicke had obtained the seals on the 21st of February through the death of Lord Talbot, and it appears to have been by Hardwicke's advice that the message was sent to the prince. The new chancellor, however, did not wish to go in person with the message, but George prevented all discussion by exclaiming, "My lord chancellor shall go." The prince, in his *verbal* reply to his father's written message, said that the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it. And after a parade of dutiful expressions and humility to his majesty, he added—"Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, I am sorry for it." The affair, of course, was in the hands of the Opposition.

ment upon the question at issue; and that he was convinced the Prince of Wales had so much wisdom, and such a true sense of filial duty, that he could never consider as a favour bestowed on himself anything that had the least tendency towards offering an indignity to his father. The minister then declared that it was the prerogative of the crown, and the right of the king, to dispose of his civil revenues without the interference of parliament, and to manage his family in his own way. He communicated to the House the conciliatory message which had been sent by the king to the prince, with his royal highness's answer, and gently hinted that he thought 50,000*l.* a-year, added to the revenues enjoyed by the Prince of the duchy of Cornwall, and which amounted to about 10,000*l.* a-year more, was income enough even for the heir apparent, and quite as much as his father could afford out of the civil list. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning the House divided, when the numbers for the king were 234, for the prince 204. The prince, or the party acting with him and driving him on, was determined to "go through." On Friday, the 25th, precisely the same motion was made in the House of Lords by Carteret, who, since his return from his Irish government, seemed to be more inimical to Walpole than ever. Lord Carteret was seconded by Lord Gower, and the debate lasted till half-past eight at night, when the motion was rejected by a majority of 103 to 40. The prince set no bounds to his rage, and studied how he might best insult his father. His wife had been for some time *enceinte*, but he did not deign to announce this fact either to the king or to the queen until the beginning of July, when her time approached. All the royal family were then at Hampton Court, where the usual stately preparations were made for the birth. But, upon the 31st of July, when the princess was seized wit the pains of labour, the prince, at the hazard of her lif and the life of her offspring, hurried her off in the middle of the night to London, to the unaired palac and beds of St. James's, without giving the slightes intimation to the king and queen or to any of the grea.

officers of state who were required to be present to certify the birth of an infant that might inherit the crown. George, angry and alarmed, sent off Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington to attend the birth; but though they used speed they did not arrive till after the *accouchement*. The princess was safely delivered of a daughter in St. James's, but had run a near risk of being delivered at a road-side inn. According to Horace Walpole, Queen Caroline hastened up to town, and was with the princess by an early hour on the following morning. "The gracious prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother; but, on her retreat gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb; but, a crowd being assembled at the gate, he kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed her majesty's hand! Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt."* The edifying quarrel, the exemplary hatred, between father and son was now pushed to extremities, even as it had been in the preceding reign when George II., as prince, had exercised that filial undutifulness of which he was now the victim. After solemn consultations in the Cabinet, and sundry verbal messages between father and son, the king wrote a reproachful, an angry, but determined letter to the prince, ending with these words—"And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby

* Reminiscences. Horace repeats the same story in his Memoirs; and in many letters of the time, written by less caustic pens, the circumstances are alluded to. Horace says —"A baby that wounds itself to vex its nurse is not more void of reflection. The scene which commenced by unfeeling idiotism closed with paltry hypocrisy." Yet such was Frederick Prince of Wales, and, such as he was, he was made, for selfish ends no doubt, the idol of a party.

weaken the common interest of the whole. In this situation I will receive no reply; but, when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, *that* may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent. In the mean time it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. I shall for the present leave to the princess the care of my grand-daughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education." After this peremptory letter the prince retired with his family to Norfolk House, St. James's Square, which became the centre and head-quarters of opposition. Irritated anew by the numbers that flocked constantly to Norfolk House, the king issued an order that none of the persons who visited there should be admitted to his presence in any of the royal palaces. Moreover, as every court in Europe was excited by these family squabbles, George ordered an official circular to be sent to all the foreign ambassadors at London with his account of the affair; and this paper was afterwards published, together with the correspondence which had taken place between the king and the prince. Lord Hardwicke has hinted that there was more in this quarrel than met the public eye. "Sir Robert Walpole," says his lordship, "informed me of certain passages between the king and himself and between the queen and the prince, of too high and secret a nature even to be trusted to this narrative; but from thence I found great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the king and the queen and his royal highness turned upon some points of a more interesting and important nature than have hitherto appeared."*

A few weeks after the departure of the prince from St James's, Queen Caroline, who appears indisputably to have been the best of the family, departed this life. From an excess of delicacy her majesty had carefully concealed, even from her personal attendants and physi-

* Lord Hardwicke's Narrative.

cians, a bad rupture under which she had suffered for many years. Ignorant to the last of her real malady, the physicians treated her majesty as if she had gout in the stomach, and thereby hastened her death. The high-minded, strongly-nerved woman bore her agonies with wonderful fortitude. Her friendship to Walpole, or her conviction that he was the most likely minister to carry her husband honourably through the increasing difficulties of government, remained unshaken to the last. It is said that the day before her death, as the king and the premier were standing by her bedside, she pathetically recommended, not the minister to the sovereign, but the master to the servant, saying to Walpole: "I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity; I recommend his majesty to you."

Queen Caroline died on the 20th of November, and her loss was deeply felt both by the king and the nation, and probably by Walpole more than all. That minister knew that she had been the better genius that guided the king—that she had been the only person in the world that could properly understand and manage her husband—that her good sense had carried him through all his official difficulties—and that without her he could have no sure reliance on George. He vented some of his feelings in a letter to his brother, relating the Queen's death. "I must have done," said he; "our grief and distraction want no relation; I am oppressed with sorrow and dread." The king, however, repeatedly assured him of his intention still to follow his advice in all things, and reminded him how the queen on her death-bed had recommended her husband to the minister, which his majesty emphatically said was a just and wise recommendation. These royal sentiments lasted as long as grief for the deceased, which was at first passionate; for, as we have already observed, though George kept mistresses, he never loved any woman as he did his wife. Some time after the queen's death, he called Baron Brinkman, one of his German attendants, to his bedside, and said, "I hear you have a picture of my wife—a better like-

ness than any in my possession—bring it to me." When the picture was brought, the king was deeply affected, and after a short pause he said, "It is very like; put it upon the chair at the foot of my bed, and leave it till I ring the bell." The bell was not rung till two hours had elapsed, and when the baron entered the bedchamber, George said, "Take the picture away; I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe."*

And yet George had at Hanover—and had had for some time—a successor to Lady Suffolk, in the person of the Countess of Walmoden; and not very long after the queen's death he brought her over to England, and, on the 24th of March, 1740, created her Baroness and Countess of Yarmouth. Fortunately, the Walmoden was almost as inoffensive as her predecessor, Lady Suffolk, albeit somewhat fonder of money. She looked to the main chance, and tried to enrich her family and friends, leaving politics to take their own course, and shunning any dangerous connexion either with rabid Tories or discontented Whigs. A more dangerous woman was the Princess Royal, Anne, whom George had married to the Prince of Orange. Anne, who is described as being of a most imperious and ambitious nature, came over from Holland soon after the queen's death, in the hope of succeeding to her mother's influence; but the king, aware of her plan, was so offended that he sent her to Bath as soon as she arrived, and then, in as peremptory a manner, back to Holland. The Princess Amelia and the Princess Caroline remained in England, unmarried; but they took little or no part in cabinet intrigues, and their brother, the Duke of Cumberland, whose passion it would have been to command the army, rarely interfered in politics.

A.D. 1738.—The session of parliament which began in January, was very stormy, and seemed long to prove to most men that Walpole would not be able to maintain

* This anecdote was communicated at the end of the last century to Archdeacon Coxe, by Theodore Henry Broadhead, Esq., grandson of Baron Brinkman, who possessed the portrait alluded to.

the pacific system on which he prided himself. The "patriots," as they persisted in calling themselves, resolved to influence the public mind against Spain, and that country unfortunately pursued a jealous and unamiable course, which afforded a broad back-ground for high colouring and exaggeration; yet, while they clamoured for foreign war, these "patriots" cried out quite as lustily against any increase of the forces, as if war were to be made by means of loud speeches in St. Stephen's Chapel. Walpole proposed 17,000 men for the army—no great number, considering that if we went to war at all we were likely to have France as well as Spain against us;—but they insisted that 12,000 men would be enough. The minister, irritated at the declamations of the disguised Jacobites, laid them bare and scourged them with unusual severity. The "patriots" paid so much homage to truth as to remain silent, and the increase of the army was carried without a division. Atterbury had called Walpole in Rhyme, "The cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain;" and the Jacobites and discontented Whigs now went on to prove the latter part of the proposition, by showing that he had not protected smuggling, had not put down the Spanish guarda-costas in the West Indies, and had not proclaimed a war to force the Spanish court to change its commercial code, and admit the principle of free trade for her colonies in South America and everywhere else. By the law of nations, which sanctioned to every independent power the right of regulating her trade and colonies in her own way, however jealous, exclusive, or irrational—by treaties, old and new, which sanctified this principle, and expressly bound England to submit to the Spanish regulations in the New World—Walpole had been deterred from pursuing the course which he was now censured for not following. By the treaty of 1670, Spain recognised the right of Great Britain to the colonies she possessed in North America; but England agreed that none of her ships should approach the Spanish colonies in South America, unless by stress of weather, or with a special licence for trade from the Spanish government. By the latter clause

the right of search was virtually acknowledged, and Spain had always kept up her guard-ships on the coast of the Spanish main; though, sometimes through negligence, sometimes through bribery, and not seldom on account of the imposing attitude of the English ships that navigated those seas, and the dare-devil spirit of those that manned them, they had been remiss in exercising the right of search. Occasionally, indeed, they had been vigilant and severe enough; but then, on other occasions, English adventurers, little better than the buccaneers who had preceded them, plundered the Spanish towns on the coast, and captured or defied every Spanish ship they met either in the Atlantic or in the Pacific. If, on the one side, the Spaniards sometimes exceeded the letter of the treaty, these men never regarded any treaty whatsoever. The treaty of Seville, signed in 1729, did not profess to do much more than put our trade in the West Indies and South America upon its old footing—that is, it allowed us to sell slaves, and to send one ship annually to the Spanish dominions in America. The restriction was abominable; and, perhaps, when England was at war she ought not to have concluded a peace until it was removed; but she had concluded a peace, and she had solemnly recognised and submitted to the restriction. But the market was too tempting to allow of her subjects submitting to it, and English merchants exercised their ingenuity in devising means to elude it. As the people wanted the commodities, as many of them were absolutely indispensable, and as they could not get them so good and so cheap in any other way, it became impossible, along a coast where distances are counted by hundreds of leagues together, to prevent this contraband trade; and from either shore to the ridges of the Andes, from the Gulfs of Mexico and Panama to Cape Horn, English goods were found wherever a few civilised men were settled. That part of the revenue of government which was to be received from duties fell, of course, to a very insignificant sum, and the annual fair at Panama, where the goods licensed by Spain or imported directly by the government were sold, instead of being the mart of South

America, as it once had been, dwindled away almost to nothing. To make up for the losses she thus sustained, Spain ought to have altered her system; but she was not wise enough for this, and she endeavoured to enforce it by employing more vigour and vigilance. On our side a terrible storm was raised whenever an English ship was captured or detained, or even subjected to the search. The English sailors, too, had terrible traditions about the cruelties practised in former times, and hereditarily, and, as it were, constitutionally, they detested the right of the Spanish flag, and hated the Dons at sea more than they did the rocks or storms, the devil or the Pretender. It was easy for the opposition to gather many an exasperating tale of oppression and barbarity, practised beyond the Western main. The one they chose is well known, but perhaps it was not the best. Burke has since called it "the *Fable* of Jenkyns's Ears." This Jenkyns had been skipper, or master of a small vessel which ran from Jamaica, and he had been boarded and searched by a guarda-costa. Like every English skipper in the like circumstances he declared that he had no contraband goods on board, no intention to break through the jealous and harsh regulations of the Spanish government; but, he added with more than usual emphasis, that he had been most barbarously treated by the officers and crew of the guard-ship. He said that they had tortured him and some of his crew, had cut off one of his ears, and even told him to go and carry it to his king, and inform his majesty that they would be glad to treat him in the same manner. The circumstances thus related had occurred long before—the story was seven years old—but now, when the table of the Commons was loaded with petitions, and the city of London ringing with complaints against the barbarity of the Spaniards and the mean-spiritedness of ministers, the Opposition laid hold of it, and determined to bring Jenkyns before them, in order to give increased weight and effect to his narrative. On the 16th of March it was ordered "that Captain Robert Jenkyns do attend this House immediately." The skipper had evidently been trained; and

an answer which he gave had the turn and cadence of parliamentary oratory. Being asked by a member what he, a free-born Briton, felt when subjected to such treatment at the hands of the Spaniards, Jenkyns exclaimed—"I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." Rarely in England has an oratorical point produced such an effect: it stirred the parliament and the country up into fury, and Pulteney declared that we had no longer need of allies or confederacies to enable us to command justice upon Spain—that Jenkyns's story alone would raise volunteers everywhere. It has been said since that Jenkyns had both his ears on at the very moment he was describing how one of them had been cut or torn from his head; and that in the excitement produced by his narrative, people never thought of examining the rough head of the skipper—who might have worn a wig. But it appears, upon better authority, that he really had lost an ear, and that he carried a bit of one in his pocket wrapped up in cotton—but a cotemporary intimates that he had not been mutilated by the Spaniards, but at home, in the fashion of Prynne and Bastwick, *i. e.*, that he had lost his ear in the pillory.* When the committee made its report to the House the general indignation was heightened; and Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, made it rise still higher, for he was heard as counsel for the petitioners, and he supported the petition, justified the complaints, and called for vengeance upon the Spaniards, with remarkable eloquence. Pulteney then rose and delivered one of his best speeches: he drew a frightful picture of Spanish cruelty and injustice, assuming the facts to have been fully proved by the witnesses the committee had examined; and concluded by proposing a series of resolutions. Walpole did not attempt to deny that the Spaniards had given great offence; but he expressed a hope that they would yet make satisfaction. Pulteney's resolution, he said, would make matters worse—would cramp the pacific negotiations still carrying on with the court of Madrid. If a treaty could do the business without the horrors of war, he was for continuing

* Tindal, Hist. Eng.

the negotiation, though it might, as usual, be somewhat tedious; but he added that, if he saw their object was not to be obtained otherwise, he was ready to demand and obtain it by force. He proposed several amendments in a mild spirit, agreeing, however, to declare that the Spaniards had unjustly interfered with the freedom of navigation and commerce, had committed depredations attended with many instances of unheard-of cruelty and barbarity; that the court of Madrid had been exceedingly backward in giving satisfaction to his majesty's injured subjects and bringing the offenders to condign punishment. His amendments were carried; but Alderman Perry, who had been chairman of the committee, proposed and carried a very warlike address, beseeching the king to use his endeavours to obtain prompt and effectual redress, and pledging the House to support his majesty in a war if his negotiations were not presently attended with full success. In the Upper House Chesterfield and Carteret went more into extremes than Pulteney; and a majority of the Lords voted with them, and passed resolutions, absolutely denying the right of search as practised by the Spaniards on the coast of South America, &c. Their lordships also voted an address, promising effectual support if his majesty should have recourse to war. The king replied to the address of the Lords in a very warlike tone. Pulteney, who undertook the chief management of the business, because he hoped that war would raise him to Walpole's seat, brought in a bill for effectually securing and encouraging our trade to America—a strange bill, which one might almost fancy had been drawn up by a band of buccaneers, as, by its most important clause, the sailors were to keep everything they could get. The bill, in fact, if carried, would have converted the English nation into one great buccaneering power; but it was negatived by a large majority. Parliament rose a few days after, but the prorogation brought no quiet to the minister, whose pacific disposition continued to be reviled by the mass of the nation, and whose party enemies carried on fifty intrigues at once, but all concentrating in two objects—the declaration of a war

and the downfall of the ministry. The king himself, passionately fond of his army, longed to distinguish it; the wisdom and moderation of Queen Caroline were gone, and several of Walpole's colleagues or subordinates had, for some time and for various reasons, taken up the war-cry. This was more particularly the case with the Duke of Newcastle, one of the secretaries of state, who had been entertaining hopes, ever since the death of the queen, to supplant Walpole. The premier, however, still clung to his pacific measures, and pressed his negotiations with the court of Madrid; but, at the same time, to show that he could and might make war, he sent Admiral Haddock into the Mediterranean with ten ships of the line, sent many single ships to the West Indies, offered letters of marque and reprisal to the merchants, supplied the infant colony of Georgia with troops and stores, and directed the British merchants in the several sea-ports of Spain to register their goods before notaries public, in case of a rupture. These things and the proceedings and speeches in the British parliament made the Spaniards somewhat more modest and humble. They liberated some prizes they had captured, sent home some English sailors that had been taken by guarda-costas, and declared that they would hasten the consideration of the English claims for reparation. On our side it was admitted that certain sums were due to Spain, but on striking a balance it was made to appear that there remained due to England 140,000*l.* The Spaniards tried to reduce this balance, but finally they agreed to pay it by assignments upon the revenues of their American colonies. It was represented to Walpole that if our debt was to be paid in that quarter it would not be liquidated for many a year—perhaps never paid at all; and the minister was therefore induced to agree to receive in prompt payments in Europe 95,000*l.* in lieu of the 140,000*l.* in America. Having settled the sum and the mode of payment, a convention was signed on the 14th of January (1739), at Madrid, by Mr. Keene and La Quadra.

A.D. 1739.—Parliament assembled on the 1st of February, when George, in his speech from the throne,

mentioned the ratification of the convention. But the nation had been filled with a dream of war, conquest, and revenge; and the convention, even interpreted in its best sense, was not a peace or a security for peace—it was not, in fact, even so much as a good preliminary to a simple treaty. The opposition, in both Houses, fell upon its weak and bad parts, and Sir William Wyndham moved that in the address everything like an approbation of the convention should be carefully struck out. Walpole said that at all events an opening to a peace was better than the beginning of a war—that if he had declared war, the very men that were now reviling him and his peace would be engaged in attacking him and his war—that he would tell the world that a trading people ought by all manner of means to avoid war—that almost any peace was preferable even to a successful war; and his original address was carried by a large majority. But when the articles of convention were laid before parliament, the ministerial majority of 234 against 141 dropped suddenly to "a baker's dozen," or to thirteen. In the Upper House the Duke of Argyll, who had been wavering for some time, went openly into opposition; Chesterfield and Carteret continued and improved their declamations; and the Prince of Wales, the mortal enemy of Walpole, took this occasion of giving his first vote in parliament. The minister, by the mouth of Lord Cholmondeley, moved an address to thank his majesty for concluding the convention; to express a reliance that, in continuing the negotiations, care would be taken to secure our trade and navigation in the American seas; and to promise that, if these negotiations should not answer his majesty's just expectations, the House would support him in vindicating the honour of his crown and the rights of his people. This, after a long debate, was carried, but by a majority of only thirteen—fifty-eight lords, with the Prince of Wales at their head, voting against the minister. The same address was moved in the Commons by the premier's brother Horace, who spoke for two hours, and explained with tolerable fairness the real meaning of the convention. Sir Thomas

Sanderson, who spoke first in reply to Horace Walpole, thought that nothing could go right till we had made war, and taken vengeance for the mutilating of Jenkyns's ear; and he vehemently proclaimed that the fellow—the pirate—the monster—that had done the deed, was now enjoying the fruits of his rapine—a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain, and of the triumphant pride and stubborn haughtiness of Spain. Lord Gage, leaving Jenkyns's ear in its owner's pocket, declaimed with almost equal heat upon the reduction of a balance due by Spain. Young William Pitt, who was already making himself known, and meriting from Walpole the designation of "that terrible cornet of horse," asked whether we had not wholly lost our nationality. "Is this," he cried, "any longer a nation? Or what is an English parliament if, with more ships in our harbours than in all the nations of Europe, with above two millions of people in our American colonies, we will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention?" From the date of this speech the tongue of William Pitt awed or commanded the House of Commons. In its abstract points few questions could have been better suited to a young and enthusiastic orator: the freedom of the seas, the might and right of the British flag, the jealousy of Spain and her inhuman policy, were subjects that never yet failed to excite the English people. Walpole, who spoke last in the debate, urged in reply that the convention laid the foundation for a good definitive treaty; that he held it to be his greatest boast at present, as it would be his greatest honour in succeeding times, to be named as the minister who had endeavoured by this convention to prevent the necessity of making war upon a nation wi[illegible] whom it was our greatest interest to be at peace. I repeated again and again his fundamental maxim—t[illegible] peace was better than war; and that, England being a trading nation, the prosperity of her trade ought always to be her principal object. On a division he found himself supported by a majority, but by a very slender one

—260 being for him, and 232 against him. On the next day Pulteney resumed the attack, and was supported by Wyndham; but the motion for a recommitment of the address was negatived by 244 against 214. Wyndham, who was still following the advice of Bolingbroke, then, rose, and with great solemnity announced his intention of taking his leave of the House of Commons. "I have seen," said he, "this shameful, this fatal measure approved of by a majority of but twenty-eight, and I now rise to pay my last duty to my country as a member of this House." He added, "I think I cannot, with honour, sit in an assembly which is determined by motives which I am not at liberty to mention. I here, Sir, bid a final adieu to this House. Perhaps, when another parliament shall succeed, I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity. I therefore appeal to a future, free, uninfluenced House of Commons. Let it be the judge of my conduct and of that of my friends on this occasion." Pelham was so incensed at the insult offered to the House, and the calling of the ministerial majority a corrupt faction, that he was rising to move for Wyndham's commitment to the Tower; but Walpole stopped him, and said, with quite as much warmth as the Tory or Jacobite orator, that the measures that that gentleman and his friends might pursue gave him no uneasiness. "The friends of the nation," said he, "and this House are obliged to them for pulling off the mask, by making this public declaration. We can be upon our guard against open rebellion, but it is difficult to guard against secret traitors. The faction I speak of never sat in this House, they never joined in any public measure of the government, but with a view to distress it, and serve a popish interest. The gentleman who is now the mouth of this faction was looked upon as the head of those traitors who, twenty-five years ago, conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, to set a popish Pretender upon the throne. He was seized by the vigilance of government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he ungratefully made of that clemency has been to qualify himself according to

law, that he and his party may, some time or other, have an opportunity to overthrow all law. I am only afraid that they will not be so good as their word, and that they will return; for I remember that, in the case of their favourite prelate [Atterbury], who was impeached of treason, the same gentleman and his faction made the same resolution. They went off like traitors as they were; but their retreat had not the detestable effect they expected and wished, and therefore they returned. Ever since, Sir, they have persevered in the same treasonable intention of serving that interest, by distressing the government." In thus seceding, Sir William Wyndham calculated upon carrying and keeping the whole of his party with him; but these Tories soon grew weary of their secession, which to the popular eye looked like cowardice, and several of them never seceded at all. It is quite certain that the minister was not only unhurt by the secession, but was also anxious to prolong it. His measures passed off smoothly, always without a division, and often without a single opposition speech. He most undoubtedly rejoiced at the absence of Wyndham when he was compelled by the Hanoverian schemes of his master to ask for a subsidy of 250,000 dollars per annum for three years for the King of Denmark.* Parliament was very quietly prorogued on the 14th of June.

But our foreign negotiations were anything rather than smooth and tranquil. When, in pursuance of the convention, two British plenipotentiaries went to Madrid to confer with two plenipotentiaries of Spain, there seemed little probability that the preliminaries would end in a

* George II., as Elector of Hanover, had brought from Holstein the petty lordship and castle of Steinhorst; but his Danish majesty pretended that Holstein had no right to sell it—that the thing belonged to him. A detachment of Danish troops had even attempted to take forcible possession of Steinhorst; but George's Hanoverians had beaten them off after a smart skirmish. The King of Denmark hereupon had raised a terrible clamour, had threatened war, and had put himself in correspondence with the French. But the English subsidy conjured the storm.

definitive, amicable treaty. The Spaniards were enraged at the declarations and denunciations made in our parliament, and they seemed determined to talk as loud as we did. It is quite certain that these Dons would have spoken less boldly if Walpole had said less about his anxious desire to prevent hostilities. The equally pacific Cardinal Fleury, however, stepped in with an offer of the mediation of France, and he undertook to guarantee to England the immediate payment of the 95,000*l.* stipulated for in the convention, provided only the British squadron were recalled from the Mediterranean. But the course of events, together with the disposition of the nation and of the king, who had all along been far less anxious for peace, convinced Walpole that the time for friendly compromise was past, and that he must either engage in a war or retire into private life, leaving his enemies to triumph in his fall, and undo, perhaps in a single session, the system which he had framed in so many laborious years. Thanks to the opposition orators in the House of Commons and to skipper Jenkyns and his ear, the mass of the nation was in a high Spanish fever, which nothing could moderate but Spanish blood. Under these circumstances Walpole took his stand on the very best ground that was offered—for he demanded from Spain an absolute renunciation for ever of the right of search, and an express acknowledgment of all the British rights and claims in North America. At the same time he reinforced the squadron in the Mediterranean, sent Sir Chaloner Ogle with more ships to the West Indies, and put another fleet to sea under Sir John Norris. Spain proudly rejected the English demands, and on the 19th of October war was proclaimed in London in the most jubilant manner. The stocks, which had been on the decline, rose instantly. The colonies in South America, the mines of Mexico and Peru, were already by anticipation the conquests of England; and every loud-tongued vagabond in the streets of London that shouted for joy, or rung the bells in the church steeples, seemed to fancy himself a sharer in the prey. Several of the leaders of the Opposition joined

in the jubilee, which they in reality had made by striving for the war; and they walked in procession after the heralds who had to proclaim, by sound of trumpet, that an indefinite quantity of human blood was to be shed. The Prince of Wales was not far behind his friends, and he stopped before the Rose tavern, at Temple Bar, to drink with the mob, "Success to the war!" Walpole, in the meanwhile was muttering, in a sure spirit of prophecy, "They may ring the bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands."

Before the declaration of war Walpole sent his brother Horace to Holland to require the auxiliary troops which the States were bound to furnish. But the court of France prevailed upon the Dutch to remain neutral, by threatening them with an army of 50,000 men, and allurring them with hopes of procuring the best part of the trade which the English had carried on with Spanish America. England was then left without an ally, and France continued to wear a threatening rather than an amicable aspect.

Parliament assembled on the 15th of November. Sir William Wyndham and the rest of the seceders had by this time returned to their posts, confident that they should soon make them a stepping-stone to the cabinet, which was now greatly divided against Walpole. Walpole, vexed and harassed on every side, and conscious that he had taken a false step, gave full vent to his spleen. He said that, after what had passed last session, he little expected to be so soon favoured with the company of the seceders; he was always pleased when he saw gentlemen in the way of their duty, and glad that those members had returned to theirs, though, to say the truth, he had entertained no great apprehension that the service either of his majesty or of the nation would suffer much by their absence. The original address passed in the Commons without a division, but the address of the Upper House had a different fate—Chesterfield, Carteret, and others harangued at great length, and forty-eight peers voted against sixty-eight. The Duke of Argyll was now in resolute opposition, and he was even more

formidable by his eloquence and address than by the influence he possessed over other Scottish lords and leaders. Walpole had been taunted with want of courage, for he had left the great Scottish duke in possession of all his offices, places, and military commands, —and this, as Pulteney had said in the House, because he durst not turn him out. But, a few months after this, the minister prevailed upon the king to dismiss Argyll from all his employments by one stroke of the pen. According to a Jacobite authority, the Highland blood of the duke got the better of his prudence, and he exclaimed—"Fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of these people." "Which," adds the Jacobite reporter, "might imply both man and master, or only the man."* The Opposition, who correctly considered themselves as the parents of the war, thought that they had a right to manage it in their own way; and Walpole found himself obliged to withdraw his resistance to the bill for encouraging seamen by giving them *all* the prize-money, which had been thrown out the preceding session.

A.D. 1740.—Sir William Wyndham believed, or pretended to believe, that, notwithstanding the declaration of hostilities, Walpole was determined to get out of the war as soon as he could; and on the 21st of February he moved a most violent address, beseeching his majesty never to admit of any treaty of peace with Spain unless the acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable right to navigate in the American seas, without being searched, visited, or stopped under any pretence whatsoever, should have been first obtained as a preliminary. Wyndham had flattered himself that Walpole would resist the motion; but that minister, who could not be blind to its tendency, declared that he would be the first to agree to it; and it was carried without one dissentient voice.

It was soon found that England was not altogether prepared for a war, even on her proper element;

* Letter from General Keith to his brother, the exiled Earl Marshal, in Stuart Papers, as cited by Lord Mahon, who obtained this particular extract from the Right Hon. C. W. Wynn, who copied it at Carlton House.

and that, though the sailors had clamoured loudly "to have a brush with the Spaniards," they did not like to serve his majesty for less wages than they could get from merchants, and had no taste for the arbitrary system of impressment. Thus we had ships ready for sea, and not sailors enough to man them; and, while we were getting ready, the Spanish cruisers picked up our trading-vessels with alarming rapidity. The merchants and others petitioned parliament for convoys to protect trade, —for fleets and squadrons to maintain the supremacy of the English flag everywhere,—and yet, at the same time, not to permit government to press the seamen. Walpole found himself compelled to sanction letters of marque and licences to a vast number of privateers; for by this time many adventurers, both French and Dutch, had taken to the profitable business of piracy, and were plundering our ships under bits of Spanish bunting. He, however, attended to the building of light twenty-gun ships, and fitted out as many cruisers of the royal navy as he could. But although the Opposition thwarted the minister in everything else, they voted him the public money with an easy liberality, forgetting, as his biographer observes, their own repeated assertions that Walpole had so impoverished the nation that it could not possibly bear any further burdens. With their consent the land-tax was raised from two to four shillings in the pound, the sinking fund was again encroached upon, and the whole amount of supplies came up to more than four millions.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of April. While it was yet sitting—on the 13th of March—advices were received that Admiral Vernon had taken Porto Bello from the Spaniards. Vernon was the pet admiral of the Opposition, and a personal enemy to the minister. Sir John Norris, having his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland with him as a volunteer, sailed away for Ferrol in order to intercept the Spanish fleet about to sail for the West Indies; but the weather was contrary and foul, two of his best ships were greatly damaged, and before Norris could get clear of the English coast he received intelligence that the Spaniards had put to sea

and were on their way to America. In the autumn Commodore Anson was detached with a small squadron to assist Vernon and commit depredations in the South Seas. But the grand exertion made by England was the fitting out a formidable armament for the northern coast of Spanish America and his Catholic majesty's settlements in the Atlantic. Four battalions were raised in the British colonies in North America, and conveyed to Jamaica to await the arrival of forces from England. These latter forces, consisting chiefly of marines and of detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in the month of October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart. Sir Chaloner Ogle accompanied them with a fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, tenders, hospital-ships, and store-ships. The armament was exceedingly well equipped, and it was expected that Cathcart and Ogle between them would do nothing less than subvert the empire of the Spaniards in the western world.

After the departure of the king for Hanover the dissensions in the cabinet increased. The Duke of Newcastle even came to an open quarrel with Walpole; they were reconciled by mutual friends, but soon quarrelled again. Newcastle, who had always been inclined to the war, thought that he was the properer person of the two to have the entire management of it: he was for sending every ship of war that could be spared to the West Indies and South America, while Walpole, well knowing the schemes of the Pretender, considered it unsafe to leave our own coasts unguarded. Matters soon arrived at that point that no single measure was debated at the council-table without violent altercations. The premier must have felt he was losing ground daily, for he allowed himself to be overcome by frequent fits of passion; and, instead of being good-humoured and cheerful, as had been his wont, he was peevish and querulous. As he had feared and foreseen, France concluded a family compact with Spain, and employed her accomplished diplomatists in every court in Europe to prevent

England from forming new alliances, or to break those she had already formed. Walpole, however, succeeded in detaching Russia from the French interest, and he subsidized Sweden as well as Denmark, Hesse Cassel, and some other German states. But the great trial of diplomatic strength was at the court of Berlin. The capricious and inept Frederick William of Prussia died on the 31st of May of the present year 1740, and was succeeded by his extraordinary son, whom he had most brutally treated, but who became Frederick the Great. Frederick William left at his death a treasure of a million and a half sterling, and a disciplined army of 76,000 men. He had made little use of this imposing force, but his son was no sooner on the throne than he resolved to improve it and use it for conquest. This young king—he was in his twenty-eighth year—found himself courted by all the great European powers: France was most anxious to secure his friendship, and England hoped that, now that the personal animosities between his father and the House of Hanover were removed, she might secure him in her interests. But Frederick was in no hurry to conclude a bargain either with France or England; he amused both, and waited events. Circumstances soon occurred which tempted him to turn his 76,000 men against the House of Austria. On the 20th of October the Emperor Charles VI. died, and was succeeded in all his hereditary states by his daughter Maria Theresa, whose rights were guaranteed, in conformity with the Pragmatic Sanction, by all the great powers of Europe. At first, every one of these powers, except Bavaria, recognised her accession; but in the end, not one of them, except England, adhered to its engagements. The Elector of Bavaria had claims of his own to a good part of the Austrian inheritance, and he maintained that the female line could not legally succeed But the first blow against the fair Austrian did not proceed from that quarter; the elector was too weak to take the field except as a second to a greater power. The King of Prussia revived some antiquated claims to part of the province of Silesia, and he thought that he could

not better employ his army and his treasure than in taking possession of the whole—"a project," as he himself observed afterwards, "which promised to fulfil all the political views he had most at heart, as it was the readiest means of obtaining reputation, of augmenting the power of his kingdom, and of terminating satisfactorily several long litigated questions." He, however, kept his secret till he was ready to act; and when, on the 15th of December, after a grand masked ball, he set out from Berlin at the head of 30,000 men, very few persons knew whither he was going, or what were his real intentions in beginning a campaign at so unusual a season. He merely said to the French ambassador as he was getting to horse, "I am going to play your game; if aces are dealt to me we will go halves." On the 23rd of December Frederick crossed his frontier, and found himself well received by the majority of the Silesians, who, as Protestants, inclined rather to Prussia than to Catholic Austria. Maria Theresa had very few troops in the province, and these were soon obliged to retire into Moravia. Breslau, the capital, through the harangues of an enthusiastic Protestant shoemaker, opened the gates to the Prussians; Nemslau and Ohlau followed the example, and by the middle of January the whole province was overrun. On the first alarm the Queen of Hungary, as Maria Theresa was generally called, applied for advice and aid to King George. George and his English ministers, knowing her weakness, advised her to purchase a peace with her dangerous neighbour by sacrificing part or the whole of Silesia; but she indignantly rejected the proposition, and claimed, as a matter of right, the succour stipulated in the treaty by which England guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. All that George could do at the moment was to collect some troops on his Hanoverian frontier; but this obliged his nephew Frederick to leave a considerable part of his army in that quarter to watch the proceedings of these Hanoverians.

Anne, the czarina of Russia, died nearly at the same time as the Emperor Charles. She bequeathed her

crown to Ivan, the infant grandson of her elder sister, the Duchess of Mecklenburg; but the Russian nobles soon set aside the helpless boy, and placed the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. This daughter of Peter the Great was of mature age and experience, and endowed with considerable ability and spirit. She, in her turn, was as much courted for her alliance as Frederick of Prussia had been, and much seemed to depend upon the course she might take. Altogether the politics of Europe were changed or modified—the cards were fresh shuffled, and statesmen hardly knew the hands they might get.

George came back to England and opened parliament on the 18th of November. The speech from the throne mentioned the exertions made to fit out fleets and armies for the West Indies and South America, and the resolution of his majesty to add strength to those armaments in order to bring Spain to reason. It also alluded plainly to the probability of France becoming an open enemy.

Walpole had nothing more to fear from the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, for that Tory chief had gone to his grave in the course of the summer; but the Opposition was now so formidable as scarcely to feel his loss. They were led in the Lords by the Duke of Argyll, who criticised and condemned the whole conduct of the war, and proposed an address very different from the ministerial one. Lord Bathurst seconded him, and Lord Carteret was even more violent than his grace, calling Walpole "a minister who has for almost twenty years been demonstrating to the world that he has neither wisdom nor conduct." * These, however, were only the skirmishes which precede a general engagement.

A.D. 1741.—On the 11th of February, Sandys, who has been well called "the motion-maker," left his seat

* The continuation of Carteret's speech was still more ir decorous. "He may," said he, "have a little low cunning such as those have that buy cattle in Smithfield market, o such as a French valet makes use of for managing an indul gent master, but the whole tenor of his conduct has shown that he has no true wisdom."

and crossed the floor of the House to the minister, to tell him that he thought it an act of common courtesy to inform him that he should, on Friday next, move an accusation of several articles against him. Walpole, unmoved, thanked him for this piece of information. Sandys returned to his seat, and, standing up soon after, he acquainted the House with his intention of opening, on Friday, a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the chancellor of the exchequer, who he therefore hoped would on that day be present. Walpole instantly rose, and with great composure publicly thanked Sandys for his notice: he requested an impartial hearing, declaring that he would not fail to attend the House on Friday, as he was not conscious of any crime, and then, laying his hand on his breast, he said with some emotion, "*Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ.*" His former friend, and now inveterate enemy, Pulteney, untouched by the minister's emotion, declared that his Latin was as bad as his logic—that he had misquoted Horace, who had written *nullâ pallescere culpâ.* Walpole, who had not much time for the classics, was hurt at being called to task; he defended his quotation, and offered to bet a guinea on its correctness. Pulteney took the bet, and referred to the minister's friend Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the House, and a reputed scholar. Hardinge decided against Walpole, and thereupon the guinea was tossed to Pulteney, who, holding it up to the House, exclaimed—"It is the only money I have received from the Treasury for many years, and it shall be the last." On the black Friday the motion-maker stood up in a crowded house, and began his terrible accusations with a sonorous voice.* As the expected conclusion to his long, loud speech, Sandys said—"I therefore move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable

* At one time there were nearly 500 members present. Several of the members had secured their seats as early as six in the morning. The debate did not begin till one in the afternoon. The passages to the gallery were crowded, and an immense crowd was collected outside of the House.

Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's presence and counsels for ever." Lord Limerick seconded the motion, declaring that the nation was reduced to the lowest state, that the reins of government were held by a sole minister, who lived by expedients, and who removed the best and ablest men in the army for opposing him in parliament. Next Mr. Wortley Montagu, an enormously rich gentleman, and the very dull husband of a brisk and witty wife, proposed that, according to many old precedents, Sir Robert should be ordered to retire from the House while his conduct was examined. Wortley Montagu was seconded by Gibbon, but the motion was warmly opposed by Bromley and Howe, and the majority of the House seemed to consider the precedents quoted as very harsh to the party accused, or as altogether inapplicable. The House then reverted to the main question; and Pulteney, Pitt, Bootle, Fazakerly, Lyttleton, and others, charged Walpole with as much acrimony as Sandys had displayed in the beginning. Pulteney particularly insisted upon the monstrous folly and crime of which the minister had been guilty in contracting alliances with the French court, and exalting the House of Bourbon at the expense of the House of Austria. Pitt declared that during Walpole's administration debts were increased and taxes multiplied at home, while abroad the system of Europe was totally subverted; and he held "that at this awful moment, when the greatest scene was opening to Europe that had ever before occurred, he who had lost the confidence of all mankind should not be permitted to continue at the head of his majesty's government." While other members of the opposition were comparing Walpole to the most worthless favourites and minions of royalty—even to Piers Gaveston and Le Despenser—and were charging him with crimes for which the scaffold seemed too mild a punishment, Edward Harley, the brother of the late lord-treasurer Oxford, displayed something that looked like magnanimity. The thorough Shippen, who in many respects merited his other name, "the honest," also refused to strike the falling minister. He declared that he looked upon the motion merely as a scheme for

turning out one minister and bringing in another; that, as he had never any regard to his own private interest, it was quite indifferent to him who was in or who was out; and that he should give himself no concern in the question: and, so saying, he too withdrew, and was followed by *thirty-four* of his party. Shippen's behaviour has been accounted for by the following circumstances:—Some time before the minister had discovered a correspondence which a Jacobite, a bosom friend of Shippen's, was carrying on with the Pretender, and which by law might have been punished even with death. Shippen called upon the minister and implored him to save his friend, and Walpole readily complied, saying to him, "Mr. Shippen, I cannot desire you to vote with my administration, for, with your principles, I have no right to expect it. But I only require, whenever any question is brought forward in the House affecting me personally, that you will recollect the favour I have now granted you."* But the conduct of Shippen is also accounted for in another way, which will equally explain (which the anecdote just related does not) the conduct of the rest of the high Tories and Jacobites, who were bound by no obligation, and who had given Walpole no such promise. Thomas Carte, the Jacobite historian, whom Queen Caroline had permitted to return to England, says distinctly, in a letter to the Pretender, that his party were irritated at the suddenness of Sandys's motion, and at their not having been previously consulted. "It was set on foot," writes Carte, "by the Duke of Argyll and the party of *old* Whigs, without either concerting measures with the Tories or acquainting them with the matter; so that, when it was moved in the Commons, Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the House to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence: and all they could say

* Coxe, Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole. The archdeacon says that this curious fact was communicated to him by a member of the Shippen family.

could not keep Will Shippen and twenty-three others of the Tories from leaving the House in a body. All Prince Frederick's servants, and party also, except Lyttleton, Pitt, and Grenville, left the House; so that, though there were once above 500 members in the House, when the question came to be put there were not above 400 present." * There is still another reason given for the departure and nonvoting of the Jacobites, and a strange one it is. In the midst of his embarrassments and difficulties Walpole himself addressed a letter to the Pretender, with the view of softening the animosities of his partisans in England; and it is said that James was induced to believe that George's prime minister intended to serve him, and sent suitable instructions to the Jacobite members.† However this may be, when the

* Letter to James, in Stuart Papers, as given by Lord Mahon, Appendix.

† See Lord Mahon's Appendix.—Bolingbroke seems to have thought that the hot Tories or the Jacobites marred the business through a miserable blunder; and that if his friend and their great leader, Sir William Wyndham, had been alive, matters would have been managed very differently. In a letter to Hugh earl of Marchmont, in which he calls England a despicable and despised country, he says—"The conduct of the Tories is silly, infamous, and void of any colour of excuse; and yet the truth is, that the behaviour and language of some of those who complain on this occasion has prepared it, and given Shippen, who disliked the coalition (with the discontented Whigs) from the first as much as Walpole, a pretence to make his fools break it. . . . . The reflection you make concerning our departed friend renews all the bitterness of sorrow that I felt when we lost him."—*Marchmont Papers*. But unless Will Shippen had been a finished dissembler, a Proteus like Bolingbroke, he could never have acted consonantly with the discontented Whigs, who wanted a change of ministers, but certainly no change of dynasty. Shippen, on the other side, wanted above all things the restoration of the Stuarts; and, being a blunt, warm-hearted, and hot-headed man, he hardly ever made a secret of his inclination. Shippen's great and rare merit seems to have been his disinterestedness in money matters.

Jacobites were all gone, and when the *old* Whigs had done speaking, Sir Robert rose to have the last word in defence of himself. The speech he delivered has been admitted to be his masterpiece; and, even as it is reported, it abounds with striking and most effective passages. He observed that the parties combined against him might be divided into three classes—the Tories,—the disaffected Whigs, calling themselves patriots,—and the *boys*. In fact, nearly every young man in the House was in opposition, as very young men, for the most part, are apt to be. To the first class Walpole's tone was mild and almost conciliatory, but it became sharp and cruel as a two-edged sword when he fell upon the discontented Whigs. "These patriots," he exclaimed, "are such from discontent and disappointment, they would change the ministry that themselves might exclusively succeed. . . . . Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism; a venerable word when duly practised. But I am sorry to say that, of late, it has been so much hackneyed about that it is in danger of falling into disgrace; the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, Sir! why patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot! I have never been afraid of making patriots, but I disclaim and despise all their efforts." Proceeding to consider the articles of accusation, which they had brought against him, and which they had not thought fit to reduce to specific charges, he spoke of foreign affairs first, and complained, with some reason, of the way in which they had managed the question, by blending numerous treaties and complicated negotiations into one

His vote was never to be bought. It was a dictum of Walpole that he would not say who was corrupted, but he would say who was not corruptible—and that man was Will Shippen. He once refused a bribe of a thousand pounds from the Prince of Wales—a wonderful stretch of virtue in those days.

general mass, by stigmatizing the whole diplomacy of Europe for thirty years past, and making him accountable for all its shiftings and changings, all its mischiefs and errors. He showed that the balance of power in Europe, and the whole scheme of European policy, had been affected and altered by the peace of Utrecht, which suffered the Bourbon Philip to remain on the Spanish throne, but which was concluded long before he became minister. The Quadruple Alliance, he said, was the inevitable consequence of that treaty, but he was not accountable for that, though he had been unwillingly an accessory to the execution of it. He maintained that France was not to be considered eternally the enemy of England; that there were circumstances in which the interests of the two countries might coincide, and in which the friendship of France was more valuable than that of any other nation. The treaty of Hanover he defended as an indispensable measure to counteract the treaty of Vienna, which aimed at nothing less than depriving us of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and forcing the Pretender upon us. He defended the part England had in the Pragmatic Sanction, her neutrality when Don Carlos conquered Naples, her recent but broken convention with Spain, and all her subsequent foreign policy. With equal spirit he justified his home administration, claiming the merit that was due to him as an encourager of trade and industry, a lover of peace, and an expert financier. He called to mind the terrors of the South-Sea year. "Was I not placed at the head of the Treasury," said he, "when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is credit revived? Does it not now flourish? Is it not at an incredible height? and, if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved at home, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has not trade flourished?" As to the conduct of the war he said, "As I am neither admiral nor general, as I have nothing to do either with our navy or army, I am sure I am not answerable for the prosecution of it. But, were I to answer for everything, no fault could, I think, be found with my

conduct in the prosecution of this war. . . . . If our attacks upon the enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been so vigorous or so frequent as they ought to have been, those only are to blame who have for so many years been haranguing against standing armies; for, without a sufficient number of regular troops in proportion to the numbers kept up by our neighbours, I am sure we can neither defend ourselves nor offend our enemies." In concluding his long and really eloquent defence, he said—"But while I unequivocally deny that I am sole and prime minister, and that to my influence and direction all the measures of government must be attributed, yet I will not shrink from the responsibility which attaches to the post I have the honour to hold; and should, during the long period in which I have sat upon this bench, any one step taken by government be proved to be either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation, I am ready to hold myself accountable. To conclude, Sir, though I shall always be proud of the honour of any trust or confidence from his majesty, yet I shall always be ready to remove from his councils and presence when he thinks fit; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the event of the present question, if it were not for the encroachment that will thereby be made upon the prerogatives of the crown. But I must think that an address to his majesty to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogatives of the crown; and, therefore, for the sake of my master, without any regard for my own, I hope that all those that have a due regard for our constitution, and for the rights and prerogatives of the crown, without which our constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion." It was four o'clock in the morning ere Walpole had done speaking, and then, upon a speedy division, Sandys' motion was rejected by a majority of 290 to 106. On the same day that Sandys made his motion in the Commons, Lord Carteret produced its counterpart in the Lords; and was strenuously supported by the Dukes of Argyll and Bed-

ford, the Earls of Sandwich, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Carlisle, Abingdon, and Halifax, and the Lords Haversham and Bathurst. On the other side, the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the Lord Chancellor, Sherlock bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Ilay, and Lord Hervey spoke as warmly against the motion, which was finally rejected by a majority of 108 to 59. Thirty-one peers signed a hot protest. The Prince of Wales was in the House, but did not vote; and it was observed that Lord Wilmington, and several other peers holding places under government, neither voted nor spoke pro or con. The peers' protest is said to have been prepared by the minister's arch enemy Bolingbroke, who could not be quiet in his rose-bowers at Chanteloup. It appears that Walpole himself felt that his fall was only delayed for a season; at least, it is said, that he remarked to Sandys, in a private conversation, that they might get the better of him, but that he was sure no other minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done.

As all parties in Parliament had seemed to agree in the necessity of supporting the fair heiress of the emperor,—as Maria Theresa, a female attacked by a confederacy of selfish princes, was a popular favourite in England,—and as George was not without alarm for the security of his German dominions,—it was presently resolved to do something in conformity with the obligations of our guarantee. When the debate came on in the Commons, Clutterbuck, one of the lords of the treasury, committed a great mistake by making too prominent his majesty's alarms about Hanover. "We ought," said this mal-adroit orator, "to pronounce that the territories of Hanover will be considered on this occasion as the dominions of England, and that any attack on one or the other will be equally resented." The Opposition, who could not in decency have said a word against the supporting of Maria Theresa, caught hold of this unlucky expression, and declared that, but for the fears about Hanover, the Austrian inheritance would have been left to run its chance—the Queen of Hungary would have been unaided! Ever since the accession of the Georges

the English people had been taught to loathe the very name of Hanover: any argument, any declamation about sacrificing their interests for the aggrandizement or preservation of that electorate, was sure to transport them; and, therefore, Pulteney made a long speech on the subject, affirming, among other things, that by the Act of Settlement, which advanced the present family to the throne, it was provided that England should never be involved in a war for the enlargement or protection of the dominions of Hanover—"dominions," said Pulteney, "from which we never expected nor received any benefit, and for which, therefore, nothing ought to be either suffered or hazarded." Walpole remedied the mistake of Clutterbuck by drawing attention from the electorate to that vast composite of states the Austrian empire, and by recapitulating the specific obligations we had contracted by the treaty in which we guaranteed the succession. Sandys made a speech and said something about allegiance being due to the King of Great Britain and not to the Elector of Hanover; but an address in terms of assenting response to the royal speech was carried without a division; and, on the 13th of April, Walpole moved for and obtained—also without a a division—a subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary.

On the 25th of April Parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, and, as it had sat nearly its limited term of seven years, it was dissolved immediately after, and writs were issued for new elections, returnable the 25th day of June. Walpole, well knowing the difficulties he should be left under, implored the king to put off his usual journey; but his influence was fast declining, George was anxious to get to Hanover, and he embarked on the 7th of May. About a month before his departure Frederick of Prussia won a great battle in spite of a lamentable display of personal cowardice—a display he never made again. Maria Theresa's general, Marshal Neuperg, had collected an army in Upper Silesia, and after relieving some places that were besieged and re-taking Grotkau, he established himself on

the 9th of April at Molwitz. On the 10th Frederick came up and attacked Neuperg between Molwitz and Groningen. After much hard fighting disorder spread through the whole Austrian line, and presently the army which almost seemed the forlorn hope of Maria Theresa was in headlong retreat. Nearly five thousand men were killed and wounded; and nine pieces of cannon and four standards were taken from the Austrians. But the Prussians had paid dearly for their victory; 4600 of them were killed and wounded. Frederick, who was afterwards the historian of his own wars, coolly confesses that in this campaign it seemed as if he and Count Neuperg had been trying which should commit the most faults:—but he adds, "Molwitz was the school of the King of Prussia and his troops, for that prince reflected deeply upon all the faults and errors he had fallen into, and tried to correct them for the future."* These rapid successes of the Prussians determined the King of France to disregard his guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and to make common cause with Frederick, the French being once more transported with that old and so often defeated hope of making an end of the House of Austria. The Marshal de Belleisle, who had been watching proceedings at Frankfort, where a diet had assembled to elect a new emperor, was despatched into Silesia to conclude an alliance with the conqueror, the chief articles of which were to be:—1. The elevation of that old ally of France, the Elector of Bavaria, to the imperial dignity.—2. The division and dismemberment of the provinces of the Queen of Hungary.—3. The guarantee of France to the King of Prussia of all Lower Silesia, provided only he would renounce his claims upon the Duchies of Juliers and Berg, and give his vote at the diet to the Elector of Bavaria. Belleisle had also power to stipulate that France should send two armies into the empire to assist the Elector of Bavaria, and to keep in check King

* Histoire de Mon Temps.—Life of Frederick II., King of Prussia, by Lord Dover.

George's army collected or collecting in Hanover. A more unprincipled scheme of dismemberment and partition has rarely been entertained by any court. But the quick-sighted Prussian had by this time discovered that Belleisle was a visionary, and that he could not wisely conclude so important a bargain with France without deliberation and some fore-knowledge of the designs of England and her allies. These designs were still pacific, or, at least, Walpole most earnestly desired that all the resources of diplomacy should be employed before recourse was had to the sword. He was negotiating with all his might to procure some cessions and concessions from Maria Theresa, to detach Fredesick from the confederacy of which France was, or would be, the head, and to convert him into an ally—judging correctly that if the sword of Prussia were once thrown into his scale the confederacy would break to pieces, and her Hungarian majesty be left undisturbed. In some respects the minister was not well seconded by the sovereign, and the difficulties he had to encounter from Austrian obstinacy and Prussian presumption were very great. He sent the accomplished John Carmichael, Earl of Hyndford, to the camp of Frederick, and Mr. Robinson to the court of Vienna. Lord Hyndford, thinking perhaps that a young prince would not be altogether insensible to gallantry and magnanimity, and might even be brought to blush at the idea of falling upon a defenceless woman, tried hard to induce Frederick to lower his pretensions and display generosity and magnanimity, which were such beautiful things in a conqueror. The cold and wiry Prussian soon interrupted him by saying, "Talk not to me, my lord, of magnanimity! A prince ought first to consult his own interests. *I* am not averse to a peace, but I expect to have four duchies, and I *will* have them." At the same time Robinson was equally unsuccessful at Vienna. Weak as she was, and as she knew herself to be —terrible as was the confederacy forming against her,— Maria Theresa absolutely refused to yield to Frederick any part of Silesia, or to admit the justice of the Prussian claim. At last she most reluctantly agreed to buy

a peace by giving up the Duchy of Limbourg and some other strips of land in the Low Countries. Yet in empowering Robinson to make this offer to Frederick she passionately exclaimed—"I hope he may reject it!" When Robinson arrived at the head-quarters of the Prussian army and opened his commission to the king, he met precisely the kind of reception he expected, though probably he was not prepared for the stage-tone and action which the royal Prussian had learned from an attentive study of French tragedies. "Still beggarly offers!" cried this pupil of Voltaire; "since you have nothing to propose on the side of Silesia, all negotiations are useless. My ancestors would rise out of their tombs to reproach me, should I abandon my just rights." And, so saying, he took off his hat and rushed behind the curtain of his tent, after the Fashion of a hero of a French tragedy, when something terrible is to be done. But, while Walpole sent Lord Hyndford as minister plenipotentiary from England, George sent to the same camp Mr. Schwickelt in the same capacity from Hanover; and, if we may believe Frederick himself, the Scottish lord and the Hanoverian were the bearers of very different messages. He says that Schwickelt offered the neutrality of his master George, if he would only cede or agree to the cession of certain territories to square the Electorate of Hanover! Frederick could lie, both royally and diplomatically; and, even though he narrates this story long after the events and the heats of the contest, some doubt may reasonably be entertained as to its truth, particularly when we reflect that a hatred of his uncle George was ever a strong passion in the mind of Frederick. Walpole also sent ambassadors or agents in other directions. He was well represented at the court of Russia by the Honourable Edward Finch, and it [illegible] agreed that a Russian army, assembled in Livonia, sho[illegible] act against Prussia, and thus oblige Frederick to div[illegible] his conquering army; but, unfortunately, France was all prevalent at the Swedish court; Sweden was made to declare war against Russia, and, owing to that circumstance, and to internal commotions and changes, Russia

sent not a man in aid of Maria Theresa. Still, however, Frederick was alarmed by reports of the marching of Danish and Hessian troops in the pay of his uncle of England, and of demonstrations making in Saxony; and, seeing that he must have some great ally, or be quiet, he at length concluded the treaty offered by France, stipulating that it should be kept secret till French armies were ready to act in his favour. He says himself that the secret *was* kept by the French; and he boasts how he succeeded in amusing Lord Hyndford and Schwickelt with empty negotiations as long as was necessary for his purpose. While fresh encouragements were given to the Jacobites to attempt another civil war in Scotland, the French court, where the pacific Cardinal Fleury had grown old and powerless, hurried Marshal Maillebois across the Rhine with one army, and detached the Marshals Belleisle and De Broglie with another. Maillebois, after crossing the Rhine, moved straight upon Hanover, where King George was then residing, and probably now wishing that he had taken Walpole's advice and remained in England. He was employed in assembling, reviewing, and drilling the troops he had subsidised, when he learned the rapid approach of the French. Too weak to stop their march, and dreading the worst for his electoral dominions, George hastened to conclude one year's neutrality for Hanover, stipulating that, during that period, she should afford no assistance whatever to Maria Theresa, and that, at the ensuing election of emperor, he, as an elector, would not give his vote in favour of her husband, who very unwisely pretended to the dignity. As soon as it was known in England, this treaty excited universal indignation, and was denounced on every side as cowardly, selfish, and base. George had been very anxious for a war, but, personally, his *début* was a most unfortunate one! In the meanwhile Belleisle and De Broglie, having joined the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, reduced the important city of Lintz, and pushed forward for Vienna. When these French and Bavarians had thrown their outposts within three leagues of her ancient capital, Maria

Theresa departed with her infant son into Hungary, leaving her husband and his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, to defend Vienna.* But, in calculating the weakness of the Queen of Hungary, her enemies had overlooked her really strong point—which was the devotion and valour of her Hungarian subjects. She had gratified that high-spirited people by many previous condescensions: in the preceding month of June she had been crowned at their ancient capital according to their ancient and national forms; and she had taken the oaths to preserve their constitution, which, defective and wholly aristocratic as it was, had yet tended more than any other cause to keep alive their gallant spirit. Though she spoke not Magyar, or the ancient and very peculiar language of their country, she could discourse fluently in Latin, which all classes above the mere serfs used, and still use, as the general language of society, or as other nations employ French. She was then one of the most charming women in Europe; her countenance beautiful, her figure elegant, and her demeanour majestic. Now, a fugitive and apparently abandoned by the rest of her subjects, she repaired again to the old walls of Presburg, where the Magnates and the other orders were assembled in diet or parliament. On the 11th of September she summoned them to attend her at the castle; and there, with her infant son, afterwards the emperor Joseph II., in her arms, she addressed the assembly in a Latin speech, made the more touching by the occasional interruption of sobs and tears. When she came to the words—"The kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, our crown are at stake!—forsaken by all, we seek shelter only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary valour of the renowned Hungarian states"—the Magnates and all present, as if animated with one soul, drew their sabres half way from the scabbard, and exclaimed,

* Maria Theresa, at the time of her flight from Vienna, was advanced in pregnancy; and she wrote to her mother-in-law, the Duchess-Dowager of Lorraine—"I do not know whether a single town will remain to me in which I may be brought to bed."

"Our lives and our blood for your majesty! We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa." Nor was this enthusiasm hollow or transient; the voice of war ran through the land; every Magnate flew to arms, and armed his vassals; every town—and there were several rich and flourishing, because they had been permitted to enjoy free municipal institutions—furnished troops, money to pay them, and provisions to support them; and the most distant provinces as the nearest—those who had only heard remotely of the beauty and distress of the queen, as well as those that were eye-witnesses—poured forth their warlike hosts, to fight to the death for Maria Theresa. In a country so poor in money, though rich in all natural products, the English subsidy of 300,000*l.* went a great way, and contributed very materially to the success of the war.

The Elector of Bavaria and the French marshal stopped short of Vienna, and turned aside into the kingdom of Bohemia, which was expected to be an easy prey. They advanced to Prague, the capital, and invested it. Prague was defended by Ogilvie, an Irish exile, with only 3000 men. Some of the Hungarian levies, headed by Maria Theresa's husband, and his brother, moved rapidly to the relief of the Bohemian city; but before they could reach Prague it was taken. The Elector of Bavaria caused himself to be crowned as King of Bohemia, and then hurried away to Frankfort, where the Diet elected him emperor without one dissentient voice; George, as Elector of Hanover, being excluded from voting by the treaty he had made with the French. The solemn coronation of the Elector of Bavaria, who called himself the Emperor Charles VII., was not celebrated till the 14th of February of the following year, 1742, when this representative of the Cæsars was dying of gout and gravel, and scarcely able to stand.* In the meantime the King of Prussia proceeded from one success to another, using both force and fraud with singular effect. The French army, however, after getting a distant view of the old

* Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith.

towers of Vienna, was driven out of Austria by Khevenhöller, who bravely pushed on into Bavaria, and eventually obliged the Bavarian army to abandon Prague and the whole of Bohemia, and hasten to the defence of their own country.

On our side the war had been attended with no success or glory. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Haddock retreated before a Spanish fleet which had been suddenly joined by twelve ships of war from Toulon, and the commander of which announced that, though there was no war between France and England, he had orders to defend the Spaniards if they were attacked. That great man of a party, Admiral Vernon, had proved himself a very little man in war. After the destruction of Porto Bello, nothing was done in Spanish America, or, we might say, worse than nothing. When Sir Chaloner Ogle and Lord Cathcart had joined Vernon at Jamaica,* the English armament was far greater than any that had ever

* As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron which had sailed from Europe under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral, de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French commanders complimented each other, excused themselves mutually for the mistake which had happened, and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides."—*Smollett, Hist. Eng.* Smollett was in this action, and has given a most spirited description of it in his famous sea-novel of Roderick Random. He was serving as assistant-surgeon, and was an eye-witness of most of the misdoings of this famous expedition.

been seen in those seas: there were thirty ships of the line, and nearly ninety other vessels, having on board 15,000 seamen, and 12,000 soldiers. Lord Cathcart caught the endemic fever and died; upon which General Wentworth took the command of the land forces. After demolishing the insignificant fort Chagre, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Darien, they knew not what to do next. A council of war was called, which, as usual, led to conflicting schemes, jealousies, and irreconcilable hatreds. Some proposed to attack the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, and which was said to be at that moment ill prepared for defence; but Vernon, who had "the voice potential," preferred beating up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motions of the French squadron collected there under the Marquis d'Antin, who continued to wear so dubious an aspect that it was difficult to treat him either as a friend or as a foe. Many days were thus lost in beating and tacking in the teeth of the wind; and then Vernon learned that d'Antin, with a greatly diminished crew and exhausted provisions, had slipped off for France. The English armament reached Hispaniola, took in wood and water, and turned back towards the Spanish main. Another council of war was called, and, as the Spanish admiral de Torres had now sailed to the Havannah, with ample means of defence, it was resolved by Vernon to attack Carthagena. But Carthagena was strongly fortified, and Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation, had just reinforced it, and lay there with a small squadron of large ships. Vernon, however, who was too rash and passionate to listen to advice, persisted in his plan of attack; but, as if the climate had affected his intellect, when he had anchored a little to the windward of Carthagena, he lay inactive for five days, and then the troops were landed on the islet called Tierra Bomba, near the harbour-mouth known by the name of Boca Chica, or little mouth, which, according to an eye-witness, was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British troops, however, effected their

landing on the islet, covered their ground in good style, threw up a battery, and made a breach in the principal fort, being assisted by the admiral, who sent in a number of ships, to divide the enemy's fire and attention. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain. The Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were, however, soon destroyed or taken; the land troops, advancing to the breach, carried the principal post, and found the rest of the forts and batteries abandoned; the passage of the Boca Chica was cleared, and the fleet sailed into the immense harbour. The Spaniards abandoned the great outwork of Castel Grande without a blow; but they continued strengthening Carthagena till 300 cannon were mounted on the ramparts. Vernon, exulting in his partial success, sent home a ship with despatches to the Duke of Newcastle, dated the 1st of April, 1741. "The wonderful success of this evening and night is so astonishing, that one cannot but cry out with the psalmist, 'It is the Lord's doing, and seems marvellous in our eyes.'" So wrote the admiral; and so ready of belief were the English people, that they began to proclaim him the greatest of all commanders; and men were singing his praises at tavern-dinners and about the streets, when he was retreating with a dishonoured flag! After entering the harbour, the troops and artillery were landed within a mile of Carthagena, all the Spanish outposts retiring before them. But then there was a pause, Admiral Vernon seeming to think that General Wentworth ought to take the town with his land troops, and Wentworth seeming to be of opinion that that office ought to be performed by Vernon and the sailors.* The general complained that the sailors lay idle, while his troops ashore were harassed and diminished

* "The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve and separate cabals; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival than zealous for the honour of the nation."—*Smollett, Hist. Eng.*

by hard duty, fevers, and other distempers; the admiral affirmed that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town with any effect, and he accused the soldiers of inactivity and want of resolution in not attacking the fort of San Lazaro, which commanded part of the town, and might be taken by escalade. The truth appears to be that there were grievous faults on both sides. If, however, we may rely upon Smollett, Vernon was by far the more faulty of the two. Stung by the reproaches of the admiral, Wentworth called a council of officers, and with their advice he attempted to carry Fort San Lazaro by storm. Twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise, and guided by some Spanish deserters or peasants, who were either ignorant, or, what is more likely, in the pay of the Spanish governor, whom they pretended to have left, marched boldly up to the foot of the fort; but the guides led them to the very strongest part of the fortifications; and, what was worse, when they came to try the scaling-ladders with which they were provided, they found them too short. This occasioned a fatal delay, and presently the brilliant morning of the tropics broke with its glaring light upon what had been intended for a nocturnal attack. Under these circumstances the wisest thing would have been an instant retreat; but the soldiers had come to take the fort, and with a bull-dog resolution they seemed determined to take it at every disadvantage. They stood under a terrible plunging fire, adjusting their ladders and fixing upon points where they might climb; and they did not yield an inch of ground, though every Spanish cannon and musket told upon them and thinned their ranks:—one party of grenadiers even attained a footing on the top of a rampart, when their brave leader, Colonel Grant, was mortally wounded. The grenadiers were swept over the face of the wall; but still the rest sustained the enemy's fire for several hours, and did not retreat till six hundred, or one-half of their original number, lay dead or wounded at the foot of those fatal walls. It is said that Vernon stood inactive on his quarter-deck all the while, and did not send in his boats full of men till the very last moment, when Wentworth was retreat-

ing. The heavy rains now set in, and disease spread with such terrible rapidity that, in less than two days, one-half of the troops on shore were dead, dying, or unfit for service. Another council of war was therefore called; and it was then resolved to give up the enterprise as desperate, to re-embark the land forces, and to sail away to Jamaica. After quarrelling for awhile at Jamaica, Vernon and Wentworth, in pursuance of fresh orders from home, set sail for the island of Cuba. The fine land army of 12,000 men, which had left England with Lord Cathcart, was now reduced to less than 3000:—to make it greater, 1000 Jamaica negroes were drilled and added to it. They anchored in the bay of Guentanamo, on the south-east of Cuba, and re-christened the place Cumberland Harbour, in honour of his royal highness at home—and this was absolutely all they could do, for the town of St. Jago was deemed too strong for attack, and the troops, after being landed and left inactive for months, were re-embarked in November, and carried back again to Jamaica. But the muster-roll was sadder than if those troops had come from a fierce campaign—disease, bad salted provisions in a state of putridity, and excesses in rum, had reduced the whites from 3000 to less than 2000. After these failures it was madness, or something worse, in the ministry to send out to Vernon, as they did, four more ships of war and 3000 more soldiers. The land-crabs of the Caribbees ate most of those unfortunate men, and Vernon did nothing with an armament that, from first to last, cost millions of money and many thousands of lives.

These dismal occurrences, though they were not half known until a month after that struggle was over, had a great effect upon the general election, and rendered still more unpopular the ministry of Walpole—for people would not remember that he had done his best to prevent this war, and his political opponents who had driven him into it did not scruple to make him answerable for every failure. At the same time, the Opposition, aided by the purses of the wealthy old Duchess of Marlborough, of Pulteney, and of the Prince of Wales, who incurred

considerable debts in the purchase of boroughs, practised corruption and bribery to an unprecedented extent. By these and other means the ministerial candidates were defeated in many places, and, before parliament met, the thickly coming news of disaster and disgrace converted many men, who had started as friends to the minister, into enemies or querulous critics. To organise beforehand their modes of attack in the two houses, the chiefs of the Opposition had numerous meetings and conferences; and that nothing might be wanting Lord Chesterfield went over to Avignon, and became the guest of the Pretender's ex-minister, the Duke of Ormond, and, by so doing, procured from the Pretender letters to nearly a hundred of the principal Jacobites in England and Scotland, urging them to exert themselves against Walpole. With the most compact and harmonious cabinet that ever existed, this minister would not have been able to bide the storm; but his cabinet was more and more divided. When the king came over matters were not mended, for he was in an ill humour at the miserable exhibition he had made in his Continental dominions, and was distracted by doubts and fears as to the result of the great confederacy between France, Russia, and Bavaria. He opened the new parliament on the 4th of December, in a speech in which he took care to remind the Houses that the war with Spain, in which he was engaged, had been entered into by the repeated advice of both Houses of Parliament, who, moreover, had particularly recommended him to carry it on in America. The Opposition in the new House of Commons allowed Arthur Onslow to be re-elected speaker without opposition; but they began their fight upon the address. Shippen moved an amendment to the effect that his majesty might be entreated not to engage the kingdom in war for the security of Hanover. Lord Noel Somerset seconded Shippen, and the now re-united Tories and discontented Whigs seemed anxious to divide the House and show their strength at once; but Pulteney, who was not quite sure of their numbers, told them that dividing was not the way to multiply. Walpole, embarrassed and dispirited, offered as a compromise the

omission of the whole paragraph of the proposed address "for returning his majesty the thanks of this House for his royal care in prosecuting the war with Spain." This unusual concession was nothing less than a confession of hopeless weakness: Pulteney chose to consider it as a consciousness and confession of guilt, and that orator then went so far as to assert that Walpole was purposely ruining the nation in order to serve the Pretender. Sir Robert replied with as much spirit, as much force and command as he had ever shown; and there was enough in the extravagance of Pulteney's declamations to restore him for a moment to his old vigour. He quoted some words which had been used by Chesterfield in the other House, and he hinted at that lord's secret mission to the Jacobites at Avignon. He asked whether he, as minister, had raised the war in Germany, or advised the war with Spain—whether he killed the late Emperor and King of Prussia—whether he was the counsellor of the ambitious and conquering Frederick—whether he had kindled the war between Muscovy and Sweden, which was preventing the Czarina from assisting the assailed Queen of Hungary. And, in conclusion, he said that, he was so far from wishing to evade a strict inquiry, that if the gentleman who had arraigned his conduct would name a day for inquiring into the state of the nation, he would himself second the motion. Pulteney accepted the challenge, naming the 21st of January next; and Walpole, keeping his word, seconded him. Meanwhile the whole clause about the Spanish war was struck out of the address, which was then passed unanimously.

A.D. 1742.—If Walpole had consulted his own dignity, he would assuredly have resigned before the declaration of war; but he clung to office even now, when the possession of it could only entail disgrace and wretchedness. Fancying that he might gain his object if he could buy over the Prince of Wales and his party, he prevailed upon the king to offer his royal highness an additional 50,000*l.* a-year, and the payment of all his debts, provided he would cease opposing the measures of Government. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, was thought

the proper messenger to carry this offer to the prince; but the prince declared that he would hearken to no proposals so long as Walpole continued in power. The minister must have been weakened as well as disgraced by this strange proceeding. During the Christmas holidays, Walpole and his enemies were alike busy conferring, planning, bribing, promising: but the Opposition were the more successful; and Walpole's underling, the courtly, silky Lord Harvey, formed one of a triumvirate with Chesterfield and Pulteney. Bubb Dodington renewed his close alliance with the Prince of Wales; and, seeing that there could now be no danger from his boldness, —that the minister he had so long feared could neither punish nor reward,—he wrote a letter to Lord Wilmington (the Sir Spencer Compton of former days), urging him to use his influence with his majesty for the immediate dismissal of Sir Robert. Bubb, who was accustomed to write and talk about patriotism and "the noble simplicity of opposition," wanted a peerage; but, though he contributed to that event, his wishes were not gratified till nineteen years after the fall of Walpole, and little more than one year before his own death. Parliament met, after the holidays, on the 18th of January; and, on the 21st, Pulteney began his great combat with the minister, protesting that his motion was not pointed against any particular person, but was simply intended to assist his majesty. Pitt, who was every day rising in consideration, and several others of the assailants, spoke to the same effect; but Lord Perceval, one of the "patriots," soon let out the secret that the combat *à outrance* was intended against Walpole, for his lordship declared that he should vote for a committee of accusation. The veteran minister rose, and said that he must, therefore, take the question upon himself; and he then proceeded to deliver his last great speech. He told them that, for twenty years, they had not been able to touch him; and that, even now, in order to get near his heart, they had been reduced to a disgraceful subterfuge. He defied them to substantiate their charges, and assured them he wanted no favour, but to be acquainted with their articles

of accusation. If Bubb Dodington had been capable of blushing, he must have blushed now; for Walpole designated him as a person of great self-mortification, seeing that, for sixteen years, he had condescended to bear part in that administration which he now termed infamous. According to one account, Sir Robert also dissected Pulteney, and laid his heart open to the view of the House; and, according to all accounts, the old minister had never before displayed so much eloquence and so intimate an acquaintance with foreign affairs. Men and parties had been packed, not to listen, but to vote and condemn; and, upon a division, Pulteney's motion was rejected, *but rejected only by a majority of three.* After the mournful exhibition of his majority of *three*, Walpole made no opposition to an address to the king for copies of the correspondence with his Prussian Majesty; and the motion, though it had been rejected on the 18th of December by a majority of twenty-four, was now allowed to pass without a division. But it was a disputed election that sealed the old minister's doom. On the 28th of January, in a vote upon the Chippenham election petition, he was defeated by a majority of *one*, or by 237 against 236. He

. . . . stood i' the level
Of a full-charg'd confederacy.

His brother, his sons, and all his truest friends advised an instant retreat; and his colleagues or subalterns seem to have refused to act with him a day longer, declaring, all of them, that his retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the public business. On the night of Sunday, the 31st of January, he got ready to retire to his splendid mansion at Houghton; and on the next morning, at a private audience he informed his master that at last he must quit his service. George was not destitute of feeling; and such a separation, such a breaking of a connexion which had lasted for so many years, and which, on the whole, had been so beneficial to his majesty's affairs, was enough to move a sterner heart. As Walpole knelt to kiss hands, the king fell on his neck, wept, kissed his cheek, and requested to see

him frequently. The shade of Queen Caroline may at that moment have been in the mental vision of both king and minister. On the following day, the 2nd of February, Walpole sent a private intimation to the Prince of Wales, who must have joyfully announced his downfall to the Opposition; for on that evening, when the House of Commons came to their final decision on the Chippenham election, the Opposition majority of one was found to be swelled to sixteen. But, once having made up his mind to his fate, Walpole found that it was not so difficult to bear; and during the discussion, and upon the division, he was cheerful and even facetious. Next morning, the 3rd of February, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke intimated that it was his majesty's desire that the Houses should adjourn for a fortnight. On the 9th Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and on the 11th he formally resigned all his places. Though not the best of possible ministers, Walpole was better and wiser than those who had gone before him—wiser, we believe, and more suited to the difficult circumstances of the times, than any of his contemporaries or immediate successors. Still, however, we are not disposed to regret that he was driven from his post: he had seen his best days, and the country under his care had grown strong enough to do without a dictator or sole minister, which he indisputably, and, as we think, fortunately for England, was. In a country like this, one man, or one body of men acting under a single head, can hardly hope for a permanence of power; and, in spite of the frequent mischiefs resulting from changes, it is not desirable that they should. His downfall was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the people; but Walpole could take with him the proud satisfaction that he had secured the constitution and Hanoverian succession; that the people who were cursing him had made rapid strides in wealth and civilization; that their general condition and the whole aspect of the country had been wonderfully improved under his long administration; and that he had never been harsh, cruel, or blood-thirsty, but had, on the contrary, moderated, in practice, the barbarities of the law,

and made an execution for political offences a rare spectacle. The nation, however, long continued to rail at the parting favours conferred upon him by his sovereign, and which included, besides the peerage, a pension of 4000*l.* a year, and a patent of rank for an illegitimate daughter by a mistress whom he had subsequently married. But Walpole was not, like Wolsey, hounded down by his king, and left altogether naked to the fury of his enemies: in dismissing him, George consulted him as to the formation of a new ministry, and allowed him to bargain with his successor for security as to the past. His successor in the Treasury was none other than his old friend and tool Wilmington, the Sir Spencer Compton of former days, who might have been prime minister at the accession of George II., if he had possessed talent and spirit, and had not quailed before Sir Robert. The Duke of Newcastle, who had once hoped to step into Walpole's place, was employed by the king to moderate the wrath and dictatorial power of Pulteney—for that orator, at this moment, was more of a dictator than the late minister had ever been. His grace told him how his majesty trusted that he (Pulteney) would not distress the government by making too many changes in the cabinet in the midst of a session of parliament. Pulteney politely replied, that he had no objection to the Duke of Newcastle or to the lord chancellor; but that he must insist that some obnoxious persons should be dismissed at once, and that he and his friends should have a majority in that cabinet, the nomination to the boards of treasury and admiralty, and the disposal of the office of secretary of state for Scotland—an office which had been abolished, but which they thought ought now to be revived. Being made easy as to his own place, Newcastle advised Pulteney to take the premiership; but that patriot said modestly, that, as he had the disposal of all places in his hands, he would accept of none—that all that he wanted for himself was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet. And, according to the absolute dictum of this House-of-Commons-orator, Wilmington was confirmed first lord of the treasury, Sandys, the motion-maker, was made chan-

cellor of the exchequer, Carteret secretary of state, and the Marquess of Tweeddale secretary for Scotland. Nor was this the only security which had been procured for the fallen minister: the court had consented to disarm the fierce enmity of the Prince of Wales by actually giving him the additional 50,000*l.* a year, and by promising that Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton, two of his steady adherents, should have seats at the new board of Admiralty. After this his royal highness had granted Walpole a private audience, and had assured him that his enmity was at an end, and that, instead of attacking, he would defend him if assailed by others.

When the ministerial arrangements were divulged, they threw the Tories into a paroxysm of rage; for the Tories, who had helped the Opposition to gain their victory by coalescing with them in the present parliament, got nothing—nay, not so much as a title or a promise. But this discontent was not confined to the Tories; all the leading Whigs that had not got a share of the ministerial spoils were as furious as they, and there presently arose a loud lament about the faithlessness of parties, and the iniquity of Pulteney and Carteret in treating and absolutely bargaining for themselves without consulting the great body of the Opposition. Pitt, Lyttleton, the Grenvilles, and all those young men in parliament whom Walpole had been accustomed to call the "boy patriots," and who had done their best to prevent the arrangements which had been entered into, murmured the loudest of all, and sharpened their tongues and their wits for the continuation of the opposition harangues to which they had been so long accustomed. On the 11th of February, the very day of Walpole's formal resignation, a great Whig meeting was called at the Fountain Tavern, in the Strand. Lord Carteret refused to go, saying that he never dined at taverns; but Pulteney went, and Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, and nearly three hundred more, peers and commoners, most of them dissatisfied men. Lord Talbot filled a glass to the brim, and drank to cleansing

the Augean stable of the dung and grooms. The Duke of Argyll, who had done as much against Walpole as any lord, and who had got nothing by the change, declaimed as if disappointment had turned him into a downright Jacobite, or as if he had been born and bred in Tory principles; and he finished a long speech by saying that nothing would go well until the Tories were provided with places as well as the Whigs, and the administration was founded "upon the broad bottom of both parties." Motion-making Sandys also made a speech, saying that the king had offered him a place, and why should he not accept it?—that, if he did not, another would—or, if nobody would, his majesty would be obliged to employ his old minister again, which he fancied the gentlemen present did not wish to see. The meeting broke up in a humour much improved by wine and good cheer; "but," adds a recent writer, "what seems to have principally weighed with them was, that each remembered how many offices were still vacant, and hoped that some were reserved for himself or for his friends."* A few days after, a conference took place in the presence of the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Argyll and the Lords Chesterfield, Cobham, and Bathurst pressed their claims on Pulteney and the friends he had put into office. In the end, Argyll obtained for himself a seat in the cabinet, the mastership of the ordnance, and the regiment of which he had recently been deprived by Walpole; and he procured, though not without opposition and difficulty, the promise of a seat at the new board of Admiralty for his friend Sir John Hynde Cotton, a declared Jacobite. Chesterfield got nothing; but Cobham, who had been dismissed on account of his opposition to the Excise Bill, was restored to the command of the Grenadier Guards, and made a field-marshal. Cobham, who was maternal uncle to two of the "boy patriots"—Lyttleton and Grenville—could get nothing for his nephews. Gower and Bathurst got for the present nothing but promises for themselves or for their particular

* Lord Mahon.

friends. As Lord Harrington chose to resign his secretaryship of state in favour of Carteret, he was created an earl, and made president of the council in lieu of Wilmington; Walpole's secretary-at-war, Sir William Yonge, and his paymaster of the forces, Mr. Pelham, brother to the Duke of Newcastle, were both allowed to remain in office. Having settled these matters, the Prince of Wales and all the leaders of the late opposition went to pay their respects at court, where none of them had appeared for a long time. George received his son very coldly. On that same day the parliament met, and the voice of opposition seemed to be mute. But the king positively refused to admit Sir John Hynde Cotton to the place promised him in the Admiralty, saying, with some reason, that they ought not to expect him to employ and promote the enemies of his family. This made a new storm. The Duke of Argyll, who had insisted upon Cotton's promotion, and who, moreover, is supposed to have aimed at the entire authority in Scotland, and to have been irritated at the appointment of the Marquess of Tweeddale, thundered in the House of Lords, and the Tory party in both Houses expressed the utmost indignation at the rejection of the Jacobite Cotton, who, as a member of the House of Commons, had been almost as troublesome to the Whigs as the thorough-going Jacobite Shippen. This Tory opposition would have been insignificant enough if left to itself; but disappointment, irritation, and jealousy at once induced an abundance of Whigs to join it, and there was thus again a coalition of men of opposite principles, but of one spite; discontented Whigs joining Tories and Jacobites, as they had done before in order to overthrow Walpole. The Prince of Wales himself grew dissatisfied, and soon began to cry down the government which he had helped to make. Wilmington, the nominal head of this government, had not improved in ability and energy in growing old; and Pulteney, who threw himself out of the Commons, his proper sphere, by taking a peerage and becoming Lord Bath, gave satisfaction to no party, but considerable disgust to the country. As leader of the opposition in the

Lower House, he had been accustomed to shouts of applause and vehement congratulations whenever he appeared abroad in the streets of London; but now he was hissed and hooted by his late admirers. In the poignant words of Chesterfield, "the nation looked upon Pulteney as a deserter; and he shrunk into insignificance and an earldom." He and his party soon found how much more easy it is to condemn than to rectify; how many things that serve to adorn an opposition speech are impracticable, or even undesirable, in office. But the people are never disposed to make allowances for these seeming discrepancies in the conduct of public men; and they expected, as the least that the new cabinet could do, that they should undo everything they had opposed, everything they had complained of and protested against, during the long reign of Sir Robert. There was no want of clamours and petitions from towns and counties for the punishment of the expelled minister. The mad cry was continued that Walpole had ruined the trade of the country; but it appeared that no man knew how to suggest the remedy for this greatest of all evils. If we are to believe Tindal, "many of the towns were for reducing if not abolishing almost *all taxes*, though they all agreed in the wisdom and necessity of continuing the war with double vigour." On the 23rd of March, Lord Limerick rose and proposed the appointment of a secret committee to inquire into the *ten* last years of Walpole's administration; Pulteney not only voted but spoke in favour of the motion, and it was carried accordingly, the majority being 252 to 245. Pulteney, however, desired not to be named on the committee, and recommended moderation and fair play. The fallen minister's witty son Horace Walpole, though not so able with his tongue as with his pen, delivered a speech—the first he had ever made in the House—in defence of his father; and was answered in a fierce and ungenerous style by Pitt. They then appointed a committee to name the members of this secret committee of inquiry, a task which is said to have occupied them without intermission or rest for twenty-two hours. When the names of the secret committee were

announced there were found to be among them only two decided friends of the ex-minister:—the rest of the twenty-one (the total number) were indifferent to his fate, or were his rancorous enemies. They chose Lord Limerick their chairman, and entered upon their investigation, not hesitating, in their active hatred, to attack and examine mountains of state papers and pyramids of treasury books. Sir John Barnard, the city member and financier, though so sturdy an enemy to the minister when in power, soon became disgusted with their unfairness, and declared that, since their views were not general, but particular, and all directed against one man, he would no longer take part in the labours of the committee. On the other side the king, who was in constant communication with Walpole and his friends, did all that he could to frustrate the inquiry and to encourage the obstinacy of witnesses in refusing to give evidence against their former patron and master. Mr. Edgcumbe, who had managed the Cornish boroughs for Walpole, and who might have told many a treasury tale, was raised to the peerage, and so shielded from the examination of the Lower House. It is quite clear, however, that, if on the one side impediments had been thrown in the way of their investigation, the secret committee on the other side had been as far as possible from the impartial and just spirit which ought to have guided their inquiry and dictated their report. These gentlemen gained no honour by their doings, for their report, presented on the 30th of June, was received by the public with universal contempt, and their labours were compared to those of the parturient mountain in the fable that brought forth a ridiculous mouse. Personally, the character of the ex-minister seemed to gain by these proceedings; for, though he had so often been accused of being harsh and tyrannical to his dependants, there was not one of his subalterns in office, though threatened with severe punishment, and, no doubt, tempted by the offer of rewards, that would speak against him or betray any of his secrets.

Sir Robert Godschall, lord mayor and member for the city, and a very dull heavy man besides, brought forward

a motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act. Pulteney, who was not yet gone to the Lords, opposed this repeal with all his might, though it had been the burthen of some of the longest and best of his opposition speeches. On the motion of Pulteney five hundred thousand more pounds were granted to the Queen of Hungary; and a supply of more than five millions was voted for carrying on the war with vigour. Little else passed worthy of notice during this session, which was closed on the 15th of July, when his majesty in the prorogation speech intimated that a treaty of peace was concluded between her Hungarian majesty and the King of Prussia under his mediation. Lord Gower was now appointed keeper of the privy seal in the room of Lord Hervey, and Lord Bathurst, a Jacobite, as Gower was, or had been, was made captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners in the room of the Duke of Bolton. But the party called "the boys" still remained out of place and out of humour.

Carteret prevailed upon his colleagues to send 16,000 men to serve as auxiliaries to the House of Austria in Flanders; but the result of the British campaign in the great scene of Marlborough's glory is told in a very few words. The Dutch would not act with them, nor make any vigorous effort in support of the Pragmatic Sanction, and our troops remained in Flanders "idle, unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants."* But, fortunately for her, Maria Theresa did not depend upon the States-General or upon English auxiliaries. Her best general, Khevenhöller, continued to serve her well in the field, and doubts and misgivings as to the intentions of France crept into the cabinet of Frederick of Prussia. A battle gained by the Prussians in the month of May at Czaslau, in Bohemia, had, moreover, the effect of inducing the Queen of Hungary to be less tenacious about Silesia; and, as she agreed to yield that province to Frederick, all present obstacles to a peace were removed, and a treaty between them was signed in the month of June. Left to themselves, the French, who had penetrated into

* Tindal.

Bohemia or the other hereditary dominions of Austria, could neither maintain their footing nor extricate themselves without tremendous loss.

As the Queen of Spain had obtained Naples and Sicily for her son Don Carlos, she thought she might acquire some other sovereignty south of the Alps for her younger son Don Philip. This scheme produced a great effect in the Peninsula: the King of Sardinia, who had contributed to the conquest of Naples by suddenly declaring against the House of Austria, now as suddenly broke his alliance with the Bourbons of France and Spain, allied himself with Maria Theresa, and enabled her troops to drive the Spaniards out of Lombardy. To keep in check Don Carlos, who was collecting an army at Naples, and who had already sent troops to Upper Italy to co-operate with the Spaniards and his brother Don Philip, the English government despatched Commodore Martin with five ships of the line. Martin, when no such bold measure was expected, sailed into the Bay of Naples, and, without firing the usual friendly salute, lay to, off the city, and sent a messenger on shore to inform the king that Great Britain, as the ally and confederate of Austria, and as the enemy of Spain, proposed to the two Sicilies an absolute neutrality in this war; that if his Sicilian majesty would accede to this proposal, and engage, in writing, to withdraw his troops from the Spanish army and to remain neutral, no harm should happen to him; but that, if he refused, the English men-of-war would bombard his city. Don Carlos and his court were thrown into consternation, for the city was without defences and almost without any garrison, and the people, according to their wont, were beginning to riot. The Neapolitan ministers endeavoured to gain a little time, and sent a noble messenger on board the English commodore to debate and defer proceedings; but Martin, a decided sailor of the true stamp, pulled out his watch, laid it upon his cabin table, and told him that in two hours' time he should begin to bombard. Upon this the Neapolitan counsellors of state, who had been assembled in a hurry, loudly declared to the king that nothing was left for them but to accede to the neutrality;

and then Don Carlos wrote out the promises required of him, and, at the same time, a letter to his general, the Duke of Castropignano, commanding him to leave the Spaniards and return home with the Neapolitan troops forthwith. The haughty messenger of the English commodore, says a native historian, insisted upon reading this letter to Castropignano. He then returned on board, and Martin, who had done his business, sailed out of the bay and was lost sight of before night.* Another English sailor behaved with equal decision. Haddock, who had done nothing in the Mediterranean, was recalled, and succeeded by Admiral Mathews, who took out seven additional ships. One of Mathews's captains, irritated by the strange conduct of the French, who acted as enemies, though there was as yet no declaration of war, followed five Spanish galleys into the French port of St. Tropez, and attacked and destroyed them there, in spite of the French flag, which had so often been allowed to cover the ships of Spain in similar circumstances. In other directions our navy did little to distinguish itself.

The king and the Duke of Cumberland had at one moment thought of proceeding to Flanders to take the command of the 16,000 British troops there; and they had even embarked their baggage; but the arrival of the old Earl of Stair, who had had the command of those troops, and the return of Lord Carteret, who had been sent to the Hague to quicken the Dutch, altered his majesty's determination. The plain truth was, the States-General would risk nothing in this war, and the Dutch merchants were carrying on a profitable trade at the expense of the English.

Parliament met on the 16th of November, when George told them that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with 16,000 Hanoverians, and 6000 Hessians; that the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary and the resolute conduct of the

Pietro Colletta, Storia del Reame di Napoli.—Coxe, Memoirs.—Tindal.

King of Sardinia had done wonders; that Sweden had applied to him for his good offices in procuring a peace with Russia; that he had concluded defensive alliances with the Czarina and the King of Prussia—events which could not have happened if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour in defending and assisting her ancient allies, and maintaining the liberties of Europe. The remodelled cabinet had had the good sense to strengthen itself with the splendid abilities of William Murray (afterwards the great Lord Mansfield), whom they had made solicitor-general; and Murray, in his first speech in parliament, which was about the British troops in Flanders, proved that he could cope even with Pitt as an orator and debater. The learned, eccentric, and almost republican Lord Stanhope, son and successor of the late prime minister of that name, delivered a remarkable speech in the House of Lords against this constant subsidising and engaging of mercenaries.* On the division, ministers had a majority of 90 to 35; but two members of the new cabinet, Lords Cobham and Gower, voted with the minority.

A.D. 1743.—Walpole, in 1731, at the passing of the Gin Act, had foretold that it would encourage fraud and increase drunkenness. When those severe duties were imposed they were intended to check the drinking to excess of what Smollett styles "the pernicious spirit called gin, which before was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order." This historian, who witnessed the horrors he describes, continues—"Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in

* "He spoke a pre-composed speech, which he held in his hand, with great tremblings and agitations, and hesitated frequently in the midst of great vehemence; but his matter was not contemptible."—*MS. Reports of Archbishop Secker, in Parliamentary History.*—His lordship broke off abruptly, saying, "Some sudden indisposition obliges me to contract my plan, and conclude much sooner than I intended."

public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. . . . . Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulation, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no licence was obtained and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take as the law had proved ineffectual: for it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They therefore pretended that, should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and the licences granted at twenty shillings each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licences." Upon these principles the new bill was framed, proposing, in addition to the twenty-shilling licences, that a small duty per gallon should be laid on the spirits at the still-head. It passed through the House of Commons with the utmost precipitation, and almost without the formality of a debate. But in the Lords it encountered a vigorous resistance, being denounced as a licence to the people to poison themselves,—as "a bait spread over the pitfalls of debauchery"—as an attempt to raise the revenue at the expense of the health and morals of the

people.* Having voted for the year 40,000 seamen and 11,000 marines, 16,000 British troops to serve in Flanders, and 23,000 for guards and garrisons at home, and 6,000,000*l.* of money as supplies, the parliament was prorogued on the 21st of April, when his majesty told the Houses that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army on the Continent to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance.

Immediately after the prorogation George hastened over to Germany accompanied by his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and attended by Lord Carteret as secretary of state, and by many other noblemen and gentlemen. The pacific Cardinal Fleury had died at the beginning of the year, in the ninetieth year of his age. For a long time he had been overruled and driven into measures which he disapproved, but his death removed the only hope there was of France being induced to remain at peace with England. His power as minister was divided between Count d'Argenson, minister of war, and Cardinal Tencin, who was devoted to the House of Stuart, which had favoured his advancement in the Romish church. Bolingbroke had been so extremely intimate with the cardinal's sister, a woman of wit and intrigue, in the Parisian fashion of those days, that he was even supposed by some to have been the father of the celebrated mathematician and philosopher d'Alembert, of whom she was the reputed mother.† Bolingbroke, who had written and talked so pathetically about leaving his unhappy country for ever, returned to England in the month of January, and fixed his residence at the family-seat near Battersea, whither he drew around him most of the wits of the time, and all the opponents of ministers. He still directed many of the attacks in parliament, but it appears that he never again corresponded with the Stuarts. He had seen enough of the Pretender, and could never forgive the treatment he had received at his hands.

* Chesterfield's Speeches.

† Mademoiselle de Tencin had taken the veil, but had soon

The French ministers d'Argenson and Cardinal Tencin sent a considerable army under the Duke de Noailles to support de Broglie in Germany; but, before these reinforcements arrived, de Broglie had been compelled to retreat to the banks of the Neckar; and the poor emperor, "beloved of the French," had been defeated by the Austrians and driven out of his hereditary states to seek shelter as a helpless fugitive in the free city of Frankfort.* Hotly pursued and sorely harassed by the excellent Hungarian cavalry, de Broglie hardly stopped until Noailles brought up 12,000 men; but he then faced about, and endeavoured to keep in check Prince Charles of Lorraine, while Noailles, whose army, even after the deduction of the 12,000 men, amounted to 60,000, crossed the Rhine, and pushed towards Frankfort, which was now threatened by the united army of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and some Austrian regiments from the Low Countries, under the Duke d'Aremberg. The supreme command was still in the hands of the Earl of Stair, who was too old for action, and perhaps somewhat too scrupulous, as he respected the neutrality of Frankfort, and so lost an excellent opportunity of finishing one part of the war by making the emperor his prisoner. Stair was on the northern bank of the Maine when Noailles and the French approached its southern bank. This confronting of the two armies was somewhat embarrassing, as there was still no declaration of war between France and Great Britain, both countries professing to act merely as auxiliaries to their

grown weary of the life of a nun. She was afterwards the mistress of many men, simultaneously and consecutively.

* Voltaire's Twelfth-night verses for the year 1743 are well known. He describes the Stuart, driven out by the English, as telling his beads in Italy; Stanislaus, ex-King of Poland, smoking his pipe in Austrasia; the emperor, beloved of the French, living at an inn in Franconia; and the beautiful queen of the Hungarians laughing at this Epiphany. The thing tells better in French, particularly as the Epiphany, or Twelfth-day, is called the day of kings—"*le jour des rois.*"

respective allies, and there being at the moment a British minister at Paris and a French minister in London. Stair, however, as an old practitioner, knew enough of the insignificancy of diplomacy to be quite certain that if two such armies met they must fight: but to fight he was not prepared; and with the view of establishing communications with the Austrian forces behind him, and of obtaining reinforcements from Hanover, he retreated before the French. Noailles followed him so closely, and so completely out-manœuvred him, that he cut him off from his magazines at Hanau, and left him almost without bread and forage. Affairs were in this critical state—the united army being cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the river Maine from the town of Aschaffenburg to the large village of Dettingen—when King George, with the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Carteret, arrived at head-quarters from Hanover. The force of the allies was reduced to 37,000 men, and these were put upon half rations, while the horses of the cavalry were starving for want of sufficient forage; the Hessians and Hanoverians that were to join them had marched upon Hanau, where the magazines were, and were equally cut off from the main army, and were in danger of starving or being taken by the French. Still, however, the soldiers were full of heart, and George was no coward. After holding several councils of war, the king resolved to get out of that narrow valley at all hazards, and force his way back to Hanau. But George was watched by a far superior force, and by a general who was exceedingly quick-sighted. Noailles, as soon as he saw the allies in movement, altered his position so as to point on their flank and rear, and he detached his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men to secure the defile of Dettingen. He also threw up batteries on the opposite bank of the river Maine. It was on the 27th of June when the allies marched towards Dettingen in two columns. George commanded in person in the rear, which he considered the post of danger, being as yet ignorant of Noailles's change of position, and of the movement of the Duke de Grammont; nor

did he find out his mistake till he saw the heads of his columns suddenly halt, and his advanced posts running back from the defile of Dettingen. This unwelcome sight was soon succeeded by another—the French showed themselves in great force in the Dettingen pass. George instantly halted his columns, and riding from the rear to the front, the real post of danger, he made his arrangements for a battle, placing his infantry before and the cavalry behind. He was by this time completely shut up in the valley, for a French division of 12,000 men had pushed into Aschaffenburg, which he had left behind him, and his flank was now exposed to the batteries on the bank of the Maine. Nothing was left but to surrender or cut his way through the defile, which was fully occupied by Grammont, and covered by a morass and a small rivulet in front. But the rashness of Grammont relieved George from this jeopardy; while his uncle, Noailles, who had given him strict orders not to move, was bringing up other divisions from the opposite side of the Maine to make the pass of Dettingen still more terrible, he rushed from the village in the ravine, crossed the rivulet, and engaged the allies in front. As the French approached with a tremendous noise, George's horse took fright, and, with the bit in his teeth, nearly carried his majesty into the midst of the enemy. But a lucky hand stopped him in time; and then the king, dismounting, put himself at the head of his British and Hanoverian infantry, flourishing his sword, and addressing a few encouraging words to his men. His speech to the English was short and suitable; "Now, my boys," said he, "now for the honour of England! fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!" His son, the Duke of Cumberland, was also in front, on the left, and behaved as stanchly as his father. At the first onset Grammont and his impetuous cavalry threw the allies into some confusion; but the steady foot soon rallied; and at this critical moment the batteries across the Maine suspended their fire, which they could not continue without striking their countrymen as well as their enemies; for they were mixed. George, in person,

formed his infantry into one dense column, and charged with them till they broke de Grammont's squadrons, and pushed both horse and foot before them. Noailles, from the opposite side of the river, beheld the fatal mistake of his nephew, and tried to redeem it; but, before he could get to Dettingen, the affair was decided, and Grammont's men were in headlong retreat, and so panic-struck that he could not rally them. The French made for the bridges across the Maine; the English pursued them with the sabre and bayonet in their loins: multitudes were killed before they could reach the bridges; others, in their mad speed, rushed into the river or fell over the choked-up bridges, and were drowned; others, throwing down their arms, tried to escape by running up the hills on the opposite side of the valley, and were for the most part taken prisoners without a blow. Altogether the loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners was estimated at 6000. The English and their allies lost, in killed and wounded, about 2000 men, including many officers of rank. Generals Clayton and Monroe were killed; the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and others were wounded. The king, who had exposed his person as much as any of them, was not touched. This much-famed battle of Dettingen lasted till four o'clock in the afternoon, and George remained on the ground till dark at night. The Duke of Cumberland, though wounded in the leg, had refused to quit the field. Both father and son displayed the greatest personal bravery; but, as for generalship, there was none in the allied army. The great merit rested with the unflinching infantry of England and the steady Hanoverian foot. When the battle was over, the allies were still without victuals, drink, and tents to lie in; but the road to the well-furnished magazines of Hanau was now opened, and thither they marched, after a short rest, leaving their wounded behind them on the field of battle.

George reached Hanau, and obtained provisions and the columns expected from Hanover, and, his force being thus nearly equal in numbers to the whole French army, Stair proposed a pursuit. But another battle, in reality,

was hardly necessary—de Broglie, to whose assistance Noailles was marching into the heart of the empire, was driven across the Rhine (near Manheim) by the troops of the Queen of Hungary, under the command of her brother-in-law, Prince Charles of Lorraine; and thereupon Noailles burnt his magazines, retreated towards Worms, crossed the Rhine on the 17th of July, and, joining de Broglie, left the German frontier to return in a lamentable plight to his own country. Thus abandoned, the Elector of Bavaria, or emperor beloved of the French, who was without an army and almost without a shilling, prostrated himself before the House of Austria, and signed a neutrality for his hereditary states, which, however, were to remain in possession of the Queen of Hungary, whose armies had overrun and occupied them, till the conclusion of a general peace. The quarters of King George, at Hanau, were made the centre of negotiations for this peace, and his majesty was flattered with the honour of being named mediator; but Maria Theresa, heroic in her misfortunes, was not moderate in her successes, and as, besides, the Elector or Emperor Charles wanted English money to carry him through, the negotiations came to nothing. George's chief companion and adviser in all these matters was Carteret, who, though nominally only secretary of state for foreign affairs, was in reality prime minister of England, for Wilmington had immediately sunk into a man of straw. When the king at length moved from Hanau, he went to Mayence, crossed the Rhine there, and took his post at Worms, while Prince Charles of Lorraine, with the Queen of Hungary's army, made a corresponding movement, and fixed himself on the left bank of the Rhine. Nothing less had been talked of than a joint invasion of France; but the united force seemed insufficient, the different commanders could not agree, the autumnal rains were beginning, and it was presently resolved—and again in spite of the advice and remonstrances of Stair—that the season was too far advanced for further hostilities, and that they had better all go into winter-quarters. Stair, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been serving as

second in command, and many other English officers, threw up their commissions in disgust, and returned to England. The king very soon followed these discontented officers, leaving all his troops in Flanders in nearly the same cantonments they had moved from at the opening of the campaign. But before his departure from the Continent, George, having Carteret still acting with him, signed at Worms a very important treaty with Austria and Sardinia. In return for an annual subsidy of 200,000*l.* from England, the cession of some Italian districts from Austria, the supreme command of the allied forces beyond the Alps, and other advantages expressed or understood, his Sardinian majesty engaged to assist the allies with an army of 45,000 men, and to give up to Maria Theresa all the pretensions he had advanced to the duchy of Milan. By another clause of this treaty of Worms George engaged to keep a very strong fleet constantly in the Mediterranean to co-operate with the King of Sardinia in his Italian or other wars. The campaign in that peninsula had been indecisive, but, on the whole, unfavourable to Spain.

We have said that the real power of the government rested with Carteret, and that Wilmington was little but a name; but Wilmington died more than two months before the conclusion of the treaty of Worms, and was succeeded by Pelham, who was about equally powerless. Pulteney now aimed at the post, but he was defeated by the influence of Walpole, who, though out of place, was more powerful, or at least could do more with the king, than all the cabinet put together. Pelham was allowed to make places or promotions for his particular friends Henry Fox and Lord Middlesex. The paymastership of the forces, which he had held himself, he gave to Winnington; and, as he wanted the office of chancellor of the exchequer for himself, he was allowed to sweeten the dismission of Sandys with a peerage and a place in the household. Pelham was considered by Walpole as well qualified to manage the treasury and the House of Commons. Parliament was opened on the 1st of December. In the Upper House the Opposition was weak-

ened by the deaths of Lord Hervey and the Duke of Argyll; but in the Commons it was strengthened by the still growing powers of Pitt, and by the conversions made to the popular side by the course of events abroad. Yet in the House of Commons an attempt against the ministerial address was defeated by 278 to 149. Pitt, now as loud against Carteret as he had formerly been against Walpole, denounced his lordship as "an execrable, a sole minister,"—"the Hanover-troop minister,"—"a flagitious task-master, with the 16,000 Hanoverians as his placemen, and with no other party." When it became known that these Hanoverian troops were still to be continued in the pay of England, and that great subsidies had been promised to the King of Sardinia, the people raised a shout of indignation, and Pitt in the Commons, and Chesterfield in the Lords, assailed Carteret more violently and more successfully. Out of doors—and sometimes as much was hinted within—Carteret was accused of being a drunkard and a madman. "He is never sober," writes Horace Walpole, "and his rants are amazing, but so are his parts and his spirit." The historian Carte said in a letter to the Pretender—"One good effect of Sir Robert Walpole's removal is, the bringing of this new set of ministers into power, whose measures have already done your majesty so much service. There never was a bolder, more blustering, and hot-headed minister than Carteret; and the consequence of all the steps which he inspires will be seen into and felt the first moment."

A.D. 1744.—Now, assailed as they were by motions in both Houses, by popular petitions, and by debates night after night, every member of the cabinet, except Carteret, began to think it expedient to drop the question of the foreign troops, and commit the king's honour by leaving unvoted and undemanded the money for the foreign subsidies; but Carteret was firm, and Lord Orford (Walpole) encouraged him in his firmness, and overcame the fears of Pelham and the rest of the ministry. "The whole world," says Horace Walpole, "nay, the prince himself, allows that if Lord Orford had not come

to town the Hanover troops had been lost." Walpole, who had never before spoken in the House of Lords, declaring that he had left his tongue behind him in the Commons, delivered a long speech on this occasion, being quickened by repeated messages from the king, and by his majesty's declaration to both Houses (on the 18th of February), that he had received undoubted information that the Pretender's eldest son was arrived at Paris, and in concert with some of his disaffected subjects was preparing to make an invasion, supported by a French fleet. The aged ex-minister, who was suffering under an acute disease, spoke with astonishing animation. Frederick prince of Wales, forgetting the deep enmity of years, quitted his seat, and, taking Walpole by the hand, expressed his gratitude. The speech had an instantaneous effect upon the whole House, and for the present not a word more was said about discharging the Hanoverians, or reducing our army, or weakening our alliances by stopping subsidies.

The high Tories and Jacobites were awed into silence, and withdrew from parliament. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for two months; a bill, brought in by the Opposition in the Commons, provided that the penalties on treasonable correspondence with the Pretender should extend to correspondence with his children; and the Lords added an additional clause to attaint the sons of the Pretender in case they should attempt to land.* The subsidy of 200,000*l.* was promptly granted to Sardinia; 300,000*l.* were allotted to Austria; and, on the whole, the Commons at this crisis voted nearly ten millions as necessary supplies. In the month of May, when parliament was prorogued, Lord Orford retired to his seat at Houghton, suffering greatly both in body and mind—for

* This clause, proposed by the lord chancellor, passed unanimously: but another harsh and barbarous clause for extending the penalties of the act to the posterity of those who should be convicted under it, during the lifetime of both the young Pretenders, was vehemently opposed, and was passed with so much difficulty as proved that it would become practically a dead letter.

he was far from feeling confident in the wisdom of ministers or in the steadiness of the English people. His brother even apprehended "that the people might perhaps look on and cry 'Fight dog, fight bear,' if they did no worse." There was, however, no lack of loyal addresses and declarations in favour of fighting to the last against the French and the Pretender.

The eldest son of that prince and heir to the misfortunes of the Stuarts was indeed coming:—King George's message to the Houses was perfectly correct—he was in France, and the French were helping him.

The pressing invitation came again from Scotland, which had too soon forgotten the mischievous effects of the attempt of 1715. The association of the most zealous Scottish Jacobites entered into at Edinburgh as far back as the year 1740 was signed by Lord Lovat, Lord James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Locheil, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth. This act of association was carried to the old Pretender at Rome by Drummond of Bochaldy, a near relation to Cameron of Locheil, together with a list of such Highland chiefs as the subscribers thought would join the standard of the Stuarts if it only came accompanied by a body of French troops. James, having read the papers, thought the project practicable and well-timed; for the clamour against Walpole was then at its height, and, knowing little of England or of English humours, the old Pretender fancied that the voice of party was the voice of revolution. But, then, many delays and obstructions occurred; France respected the pacific policy of Fleury, or was not ready for war; and the old Pretender seemed determined not to risk his eldest son, Charles Edward, in any part of Scotland, England, or Ireland, unless he were backed by a strong French army. But, early in the year 1743, when France was fairly engaged in the Continental war, and wished to keep George II. out of it, by finding employment for his arms at home, the unhappy Stuart was re-animated by French promises

of aid. In the summer of the same year (1743) Fleury's successor Cardinal de Tencin wrote to the old Pretender, acquainting him with the preparations made for an invasion, and urging him to send his son Charles immediately to Paris, that he might go with the expedition. On the 27th of June, James, writing from his delightful villa of Albano, near Rome, assured his friend the cardinal that nothing could be more desirable in general than the journey of the prince his son into France. "But," added the old Pretender, made cautious and diffident by thirty years of failure and disappointment, "if you seriously meditate an enterprise against England, would it not be more prudent to defer my son's journey until you are ready for the execution of the grand project? For such a journey will produce a great noise, will put the English government on its guard, and engage it to do everything in order to provide against an invasion, which will then be regarded as certain and near at hand. I have considered it my duty to make this reflection; but if, in the meanwhile, you assure me that the King of France wishes my son to go to Paris, I will send him."* The French cabinet then commenced collecting at Dunkirk and Calais a large body of veteran troops under Marshal Saxe, a fleet of transports and other necessaries, and also put in order at Brest and Rochefort eighteen or twenty men-of-war. When all these preparations were made—when 15,000 men were all but ready to embark—de Tencin despatched another messenger to Rome, to urge the instant coming of Prince Charles. The old Pretender then, on the 23rd of December, 1743, signed a proclamation to be published on his son's landing in England, and a commission appointing Charles his regent and *alter ego*. Other papers were prepared, including patents of nobility to reward the most forward of the Jacobites; some little money was got together; and on the night of the 9th of January, 1744, Charles, giving out that he was going to hunt the boar in the Pontine marshes and the wilds of the Maremma, as he had been used to do at that season,

* Stuart Papers.

stole out of Rome very privately, attended by only one servant, a favourite groom. He had to avoid by land George's ally, the King of Sardinia, and by sea George's admiral, Mathews, who was cruising off the Italian coast. Travelling day and night, the young Pretender passed Genoa and reached the little sea-port of Savona: there he embarked in a felucca, or small half-deck vessel, and, no doubt, by keeping close in shore, he escaped observation, and got safe to the French port of Antibes. Thence he pursued his journey with all speed to Paris, where he arrived, unknown and unobserved, on the 20th of January. His confidence was somewhat damped by Louis XV. refusing to confer with him personally. His most Christian majesty still deemed the deceptive veil necessary, and he never admitted Charles to an audience during this his first stay at Paris. The young Pretender was, however, met by the exiled Earl Marshal, by Lord Elcho, by Drummond of Bochaldy, and by one or two other Scots, whose secrecy and discretion could be trusted. After lying concealed some short time at Paris, he stole away to the little port of Gravelines, from the downs of which place he beheld, for the first time, the white cliffs of England. During his stay at Gravelines he took the name of the Chevalier Douglas, and remained close and unknown, having no one with him save the laird of Bochaldy. The exiled Earl Marshal, one of the best men that ever engaged in that desperate cause, repaired in all privacy to Gravelines to accompany the prince. At first it had been arranged that 3000 Frenchmen for Scotland should be sent off before the main body, but now it was resolved that the main body should go at the same time. Having effected the junction of the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, Admiral Roquefeuille ventured up the British Channel to examine the state and position of our guardships previously to taking in charge the transports and troops at Dunkirk. Towards the end of February people on the look-out on the heights of Torbay discovered the French fleet, which consisted of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, and they watched it with an anxious eye. Roquefeuille continued his course till he came

abreast of the Isle of Wight, and could look into Spithead. Not seeing a single English man-of-war on that usual station, he despatched a tender to Dunkirk, advising Marshal Saxe to embark his troops without delay. That active general soon shipped 7000 of his men: Prince Charles had come round from Gravelines, and he and the marshal embarked together and even put out to sea. After despatching the tender, Roquefeuille continued to steal along the Channel, until he arrived off Dungeness, where he cast anchor. But his anchors had scarcely bit the ground when he was disturbed by the apparition of our Channel fleet, bearing down upon him in superior force. This fleet was commanded by Sir John Norris, an excellent sailor, but somewhat too aged for dashing, daring enterprises. He cast anchor within two leagues of Roquefeuille, considering, from the state of the tide and the approach of night, it would be better to delay the combat till the next day. Roquefeuille slipped his cables in the night and bore away for the French coast, and when the morning sun arose old Norris could not see so much as a strip of French canvass. But the wind that wafted Roquefeuille out of the reach of the English fleet blew too hard for Marhal Saxe, the Pretender, and the transports, that had come out of Dunkirk. It blew right in their teeth—it rose to a hurricane—it sunk some of the largest ships with all the men on board—it drove others back on the French coast among rocks and sand-banks; and the luckiest of the fleet were those that got back into port dismasted and shattered. The French troops, with their numbers considerably diminished by these sea casualties and with their spirits quite sunk by the horrors of sea-sickness, were glad to be on *terra firma* again, and in no hurry to re-embark. The discouragement extended to the French cabinet, who, moreover, had now urgent need of troops in Flanders; and soon after the fatal storm the army was withdrawn from the coast, and Marshal Saxe was sent into the Low Countries. Charles retired to his old hiding-place at Gravelines, where he lived very privately all the spring, still calling

himself the Chevalier Douglas. But there were various things attending this masquerade which were by no means pleasant: there was hard work to do in reading and answering despatches secretly conveyed to him from various quarters; and the prince, who loved hunting, but hated writing—who was so ill educated that he could write in no language, neither in French, Italian, nor English, without committing gross blunders in orthography—complained much of this hard labour, and of having no one to help him, save the laird of Bochaldy, who, in all probability, was no great linguist or penman himself.* He wished to join the French army in Flanders, fighting against Englishmen and the allies of England; but Louis would not permit him to go to his army, and the Lord Marshal strongly advised the young Pretender against such a step, so little likely to conciliate the people he wished to govern as king. For this advice Charles was furious, and he wrote to his father at Rome to accuse and abuse the noble exile. In the month of June Charles left the coast and returned to Paris, where Louis ordered him to remain concealed. He accordingly took a house some distance from that capital, where, as he said himself, he should be at full liberty to have the spleen, being compelled to live like a hermit. We find him complaining that he could get no shooting—that he had not handled a gun for two months; "but," adds he, with a nice attention to the weather, "I intend to begin to shoot again soon, *but not when it rains.*" It is true, Charles was a young man, but youth can scarcely excuse this trifling in one that was risking thousands of lives for the attainment of a great object. At all events, such *poco-curante* youths are not made to carve their way to thrones.

A few days after the retreat of Roquefeuille and the disasters of Marshal Saxe's transports, 6000 Dutch troops were landed at Gravesend, as a contingent which the States-General were bound to furnish by old trea-

* Stuart Papers.

ties. Other troops were raised at home, fresh ships were equipped, and the chief landing-places on our coasts were put into a better state of defence.

While Roquefeuille had been engaging the attention of England in the Channel, a bold attempt had been made in the Mediterranean by a Spanish fleet united to the fleet of Toulon. The Spaniards and French ventured out from Toulon, in the beginning of March, against the English Mediterranean fleet, commanded by Admirals Mathews and Lestock. A paltry battle, or, rather two spiritless actions, fought on two separate days, attended this sortie. Mathews and several commanders of English ships were cashiered; the Spanish admiral, who had run away, was made a marquess for not having lost more than one ship, and the Frenchman was promoted for not having been worse beaten than he was. The remaining naval incidents of the year were unimportant, if we except the return of Commodore Anson, who added a curious and universally known episode to the maritime history of his country. Anson's exploits in the South Sea bore a close resemblance to those of the Buccaneers of an earlier date: he made prizes of all the vessels he could meet, and he burnt towns and villages. He could hardly do more, as the miserable failures of Vernon made his intended co-operations across the Isthmus of Darien a dream. But he boldly conceived projects of his own which greatly distressed the Spaniards, and he displayed in almost every possible calamity, danger, and difficulty, the true qualities of an English sailor. After suffering many hardships and running risks innumerable, he got back into the Channel, passed through the heart of a French fleet, without seeing them, in a thick fog, and finally arrived safely at Spithead on the 15th of June of the present year, 1744. All the treasure he brought with him in coin, bullion, and gold and silver dust, amounted in value to one million and a quarter sterling. It was resolved for popular purposes to get up an exhibition; and on the 4th of July thirty waggons from Portsmouth carrying the treasure brought home passed through the Strand

and Cheapside to the Tower, guarded by the ship's crew, and preceded by the officers with swords drawn, music playing, and colours flying; the flags taken from the Spaniards, and particularly that of the great galleon, making an attractive part of the exhibition.

The incidents of the land war during 1744 were various. Louis XV., in the month of May, went into Flanders to take the command of his own army, which amounted to 80,000 men. Marshal Saxe, fortunately for the French, was left with the real direction, for of war Louis knew nothing. King George had expected that the allies would muster a force equal to that of the enemy, but all that could really be got together was a discordant body of English, Dutch, Austrians, and Flemings, of 52,000 men. With his vast superiority Louis was enabled to indulge for a short time in that spectacular part of war which had been so much to the taste of his great-grandfather Louis XIV.—that is, he witnessed the surrender of towns and fortresses, which seemed made to be taken and retaken some half-dozen of times in every war. But Maria Theresa's army, under Prince Charles of Lorraine, burst into Alsace, driving the French behind the ramparts of Strasburg; and then, in the month of July, the French king turned from witnessing the capture of ill-defended towns, and hastened towards his invaded province, leaving half his army behind in Flanders under Saxe. But Louis was not made for the fatigues of compaigning, and he had besides over-eaten himself: he fell sick unto death at Metz on his march into Alsace; confessed his sins, turned off his reigning mistress, and resigned himself entirely to his priests. In this state he lay between life and death for many weeks. But a more warlike hand than his was now outstretched against the Austrians. Frederick of Prussia suddenly broke his pacific engagements, tore up his treaties, and burst into Bohemia with 60,000 men, while another division of his army marched into Moravia. Frederick made straight for the Bohemian capital; and Prague capitulated on the 16th of September. Before moving he had re-

newed his correspondence with France, and had concluded at Frankfort a sort of treaty with the dispossessed Emperor Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, who now found himself able to send an army under Marshal Seckendorf into his lost hereditary dominions. Seckendorf entered Bavaria, drove the Austrian army there before him, and re-conducted his master Charles to Munich, his ancient capital. Terrified at these great successes of Frederick and Seckendorf, the court of Vienna hastily recalled Prince Charles from the French province of Alsace, whither the sick Louis had been going. The able Lorrainer recrossed the Rhine with admirable skill in the face of a strong French army, and proceeded by forced marches to Bohemia, where Frederick was carrying everything before him. The Hungarians, to whom Maria Theresa again fled, renewed their heroic exertions, and crowded into Bohemia to serve under Prince Charles. Frederick called upon the French marshals on the Rhine to assist him; and he called in vain. He soon found himself obliged to retrace his steps through Bohemia, and to abandon to their fate his garrisons at Tabor and other places. His retreat through a mountainous country was exceedingly disastrous;—many of the Prussians were killed, many more taken, and their king himself had a narrow escape. They considered themselves fortunate, when, at the beginning of December, they found themselves clear of Bohemia, and once more in Silesia. Owing to the exertions which had tended to weaken them in other quarters, the French were enabled to gain some brilliant but transient successes on the side of Italy. The Prince de Conti suddenly crossed the Alps by the Col de Tende, took by assault various important places, penetrated into Piedmont, joined some Spaniards under the Infant Don Philip, and routed the King of Sardinia in a bloody battle fought near the town of Coni. But the French could not keep their ground, and, perishing from want of supplies and the avenging muskets and knives of the peasantry

whose fields they had desolated, they soon retreated through the defiles of the Alps into Savoy. But in Lower Italy the allies of England were singularly unsuccessful, and a Neapolitan army, for once in modern history, stood firm on the field of battle and gallantly won a victory. The remnant of the Spanish army had retreated by Rimini to the frontiers of Naples. The Austrian general, Prince Lobkowitz, followed them and threatened to attack them even on the Neapolitan territory, complaining that his majesty Don Carlos had, by giving them shelter and succour, and by other proceedings, broken the neutrality to which he had pledged himself when Commodore Martin had threatened his capital and his very palace with bombardment. Don Carlos, on the other side, proclaimed that the conquest of his dominions was all along a part of the scheme of the Austrians; that the Spanish fugitives, who had claimed the shelter of his frontiers, were too few and powerless to excite any rational fears; and that now Lobkowitz's real design was to drive him out of his states. He then put his wife and children for safety within the strong fortress of Gaeta, and marched to his frontiers to join the Spaniards there, and face Lobkowitz and the Austrians. He was followed by an army of 25,000 Neapolitans, and the Spaniards and their partisans made nearly 20,000 men more. Lobkowitz, on the other hand, had about 35,000 men in all—but they were men that had served in many wars, and that had been accustomed to speak with derision of a Neapolitan army. After numerous manœuvres, in which the Austrians tried to penetrate into the Neapolitan kingdom by the difficult passes of the Abruzzi, Don Carlos advanced a little into the neighbouring states of the Pope, and took quarters in Velletri, a considerable city situated on the summit of a steep hill. Here Lobkowitz thought to surround him and catch him as in a trap; but on the night betwen the 10th and 11th of August, the Austrians, after penetrating into Velletri and setting fire to one of the suburbs, were repulsed with tremendous loss

by the Neapolitans and Spaniards; and Lobkowitz, instead of taking the kingdom of Naples, was finally compelled to retreat behind the Po.

In the month of October the turbulent old Duchess Dowager of Marlborough found peace at last in the grave, having equally survived her friends and her enemies. Out of her enormous wealth she bequeathed large legacies to the leaders of the opposition. Thus Chesterfield got 20,000*l.* and the reversion of an estate at Wimbledon, and Pitt 10,000*l.* The day of her death was also that of the death of the Countess Granville, mother to Lord Carteret, who thereupon became Earl Granville. This minister was still in the highest favour with the king; but he had become proportionally odious to the Duke of Newcastle and his other colleagues, who seemed determined to drive him from office. There was nothing new or edifying in these cabinet squabbles and court intrigues. Carteret, or Granville, drinking as hard as usual, wanted still more power; and in the month of November the Duke of Newcastle and his brother Mr. Pelham told his majesty, for themselves and for the greater part of the cabinet, that he must choose between their resignations and the dismissal of Granville. George, in this extremity, entreated the Earl of Orford to come up to town and give his advice. Walpole obeyed the summons, but his advice was strongly against driving matters to extremities by retaining Granville. The Prince of Wales, who was now living on better terms with his father, was also consulted by George; but the prince could do nothing with his friends of the opposition, who were all bent upon the expulsion of Granville. The king bitterly blamed the Duke of Newcastle, saying of him—"He is grown as jealous of Lord Granville as he used to be of Walpole, and wants to be prime minister, which, a puppy! how can he be?" Nevertheless he found himself compelled, on the 23rd of November, to dismiss Granville. Lord Winchelsea, with his new board of admiralty, and a few other inferior placemen, retired with the expelled minister: the Earl of Harrington was re-appointed to the place which Granville had

vacated. Strong efforts were made to overcome the personal aversion of the king to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt, in order to gratify that section of the Whigs, and also to induce his majesty to give some employment to Sir John Hynde Cotton, in order to keep the Tories quiet: for the Pelhams, in seeking for parliamentary aid, had not overlooked the latter party; and one of the most flattering promises they had made to the king was, that, Carteret being once removed, they would still the noisy voice of opposition in parliament. In short, they wanted to make what they rather inelegantly termed a *broad-bottomed* ministry; that is to say, a cabinet which should have for its basis men of all parties, from which, however, the particular adherents both of Pulteney and Carteret were to be carefully excluded. George, who could never tolerate Chesterfield, and who had been incensed by the parliamentary conduct of that lord, would on no account have him about his person as one of the secretaries of state, the post which his lordship aspired to; but he reluctantly consented to give him the lord-lieutenantcy of Ireland. Pitt might have been gratified with a place if he would have accepted a minor one, but he proudly said that he would be secretary-at-war or nothing; and so he remained in opposition; but only for a very short time, for the Duke of Newcastle and Pelham, who felt his assistance indispensable, assured him that the king's antipathy should soon be overcome, and that he should then have what he wanted. Pitt, therefore, resigned his place in the household of the Prince of Wales, who was now losing his party and his influence by inclining to the displaced minister Carteret. After bitter complaints of not being allowed to have a will of his own—of being forced by his ministers to employ one that was an enemy to his House—George consented to make Sir Geore Hynde Cotton treasurer of the chamber in the royal household. The changeling Tory Lord Gower was restored to his former office of lord privy seal, from which Lord Cholmondeley was dismissed; the Duke of Dorset got the presidency of the council, vacated by Harrington; the Duke of Bedford

became first lord of the admiralty in the room of Winchelsea, having the Earl of Sandwich as second commissioner; Mr. Grenville was made another of the junior lords of the admiralty; Lyttleton obtained a seat at the treasury board; and even the tricksy Bubb Dodington got on the broad-bottom, for he was appointed treasurer of the navy. Lord Hardwicke remained chancellor, Mr. Pelham first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and the Duke of Newcastle one of the secretaries of state, Lord Harrington being made the other in the room of Lord Granville. The Duke of Devonshire, Walpole's "rough diamond and steady friend," remained satisfied with the post of steward of the household. The makers of this broad-bottom administration told the king that he might now look round the House of Commons and not find one man of business or of any weight capable of heading or conducting an opposition.

A.D. 1745.—"This general coalition," says Lord John Russell, "smoothed the great sea of parliamentary debate; and the session is remarkable for producing scarcely a single division. Yet the conduct of the new ministry did not essentially differ from that of Lord Carteret."* The opponents of that minister—the Chesterfields, the Pitts, the Lyttletons—had constantly reproached him for leaning to Hanover and employing or paying Hanoverian troops; and they had exhausted their eloquence upon this particular topic: yet these men now, in office, or (as in Pitt's case) making sure of being in, found it necessary to qualify their criticism; and they only escaped by a practical equivoque from pursuing precisely the same line that they had condemned and denounced in Carteret. Pitt read a sort of recantation in the House in the month of January, upon a motion for continuing the army in Flanders; and, though the Hanoverian troops were nominally dismissed, an increased subsidy was voted to the Queen of Hungary,† to

* History of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht.

† Her subsidy was raised from 300,000*l.* to 500,000*l.*

enable her to take those very troops into her pay. This she did; and the Hanoverians continued to serve in the allied armies as much in the pay of England as they had been before. But there was more than this: when the popular outcry grew faint, the farce of paying them indirectly was suspended, the money was counted out again from the English treasury, and the number of Hanoverians was increased from 15,000, which it had been in Carteret's time, to 22,000! In the same easy way a new subsidy for the Elector of Saxony was carried by the patriots and the broad-bottom men as soon as Carteret was removed; 24,000*l.* were voted for the Elector of Cologne, and 8000*l.* for the Elector of Mayence. Not a whisper was now raised against our increasing and complicating our foreign engagements, which a few months before had been considered so dangerous by the Opposition; the Quadruple Alliance, concluded in January between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony, binding the last-mentioned power to furnish 30,000 men for the defence of Bohemia, and binding England to pay two-thirds of the whole subsidy to the Saxon Elector, while Holland paid but one-third, met with no comment and excited no complaint in the House of Commons. At last, the States engaged to have 60,000 men under arms for the ensuing campaign, and consented that the supreme command of the united armies in Flanders should be entrusted to George's son, the Duke of Cumberland. The old Elector of Bavaria, who had hardly known one fortunate day since he had been elected emperor, died at Munich, in the month of January, of a complication of disorders and sufferings, physical and moral, that should seem sufficient to kill fifty men.* His son and successor to his hereditary states of Bavaria was wise enough not to be tempted by the Imperial crown: he instantly opened negotiations with Maria Theresa; engaged to vote for her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, in the next Imperial Diet; renounced all claims whatsoever to any part of the

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV.

Austrian succession; and promised to recall his troops from the French army, and never send them to assist the King of Prussia. The Queen of Hungary, on her part, agreed to acknowledge that the election of the late emperor was good and valid, and also to restore whatever territory she had occupied or conquered in Bavaria; and upon these terms a treaty was concluded at Fuessen.

Before the annual waste of human life began that great minister died, who had checked it for so many years. Walpole expired on the 18th of March, 1745, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; thus escaping the mournful spectacle of the civil war which was about to rage in the northern parts of our island.*

In the month of April Marshal Saxe found himself at the head of 76,000 French troops in Flanders; and, after a few movements to puzzle and embarrass the allies, he marched suddenly upon Tournay, and invested that place in the beginning of May. England had furnished all the troops she had promised, and had about 28,000 brave men under arms in that old battle-field of Europe; but the Dutch, instead of sending 50,000 and keeping 10,000 in garrison, had hardly sent 25,000; and the Austrians mustered no more than eight or nine squadrons of horse. As if the inferiority of number to the French was not sufficient to ensure a bad campaign, the Duke of Cumberland, who had indisputably *some* (not many) of the qualities of a great general, and who was young and active at least, found himself under the control of an old Austrian pedant in war, Marshal Konigsegg, and hampered and thwarted by the Dutch general, Prince Waldeck. At the earnest instance of Waldeck and the States-General, Cumberland moved with this inferior force to relieve Tournay, which ought to have been strong enough to defend itself, for it was esteemed one of the best fortresses in the Low Countries, and there were 9000 Dutch within it well supplied with everything. Having come to this resolution of relieving Tournay, the allied armies ought to have been quick and sudden

* Coxe, Memoirs.

in their motions; but they lost time—they went at parade pace—and, when they got near Tournay, they found that Saxe was well prepared to meet them. That skilful and active general, leaving 15,000 of his foot to block up the fortress, moved with the rest of his army of 60,000 horse and foot, to an excellent position between Tournay and Fontenoy, which he presently occupied and strengthened with numerous works. And while he lay there Louis XV. and the Dauphin arrived post from Paris, and joined him, to the great joy and encouragement of the French army. If the young Pretender had been allowed, he would have followed the French king, and his first encounter with Cumberland would have been at Fontenoy instead of Culloden. When the allies came up they found the French encamped on the gentle heights that rise from the right bank of the river Scheldt, with that river and the village of Antoine on their right, Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, and a small wood on their left. As at Dettingen, the French had a free passage across the river by means of a bridge; and this bridge was defended by a *tête de pont* and by a strong body of reserve. Fontenoy and Antoine were well fortified and garrisoned; redoubts were thrown up between the two villages, and there were abbatis on the left in front of the wood. Apparently nothing daunted—it may be suspected that they were not skilful enough to detect at a glance the whole strength of the position—the allied generals resolved still to relieve Tournay and engage; and, driving in the French picquets and outposts, they advanced in gallant style. But night fell, operations were suspended, and the troops lay under their arms till the following morning, the 11th of May (N.S.). At about four o'clock in the morning a brisk cannonade began on both sides,* and before six both armies were closely engaged. The Duke of Cum-

* "Our cannon began to play a little after four in the morning, and the French batteries, with triple out weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march."—*Colonel John Munro to the Lord President in Culloden Papers.*

berland with the English and Hanoverians advanced against the left of the French, and detached General Ingoldsby to clear the wood there and carry a redoubt a little beyond it. When Ingoldsby came up to the wood he found it occupied by some detachments of sharp-shooters, whom he mistook for a whole division; and, after hesitating and losing time, he rode back to Cumberland for fresh instructions. This was a blunder; but on the other side Prince Waldeck and the Dutch, who had moved against the French right to attack Fontenoy and Antoine, gave unequivocal proofs of cowardice; for, after failing in their assault, and suffering from the French batteries, they gave ground,* and remained little more than spectators of the rest of the fight. Nay, to increase the shame, Appius, the colonel of a regiment of Hesse-Homburghers in the pay of the States, galloped away with most of his men to the town of Ath, and thence wrote a letter to the Dutch government to inform them that the allied army had been cut to pieces. Still, however, Cumberland, with his brave British and Hanoverian troops, persevered in his attack on the left. Leaving the cavalry in their rear, and dragging some pieces of artillery with the force of their own nervous arms, the foot crossed a ravine, and advanced full in front of the wood, the batteries, and the abbatis, and of the best part of the French army, which had had time and opportunity to gather strength from its right. When the combat became close it was terrific: our men were killed in heaps by the enemy's artillery; but still they went closer, sweeping away the French foot and the firm Swiss guards. The Duke de Grammont, who had lost the day at Dettingen, found that his last day was come, for he was killed early in the struggle, and many officers better than he bit the dust. When the British and Hanoverians carried the French position on the left,† and looked with the eyes of conquerors to the right, they

* Culloden Papers.

† See the interesting letter of Lieutenant Forbes, in Culloden Papers.

could see nothing of their allies the Dutch; and presently they were charged where they stood by masses of the French cavalry. But charge after charge was wasted upon them, and, instead of retreating, they pressed forward in the view of taking Fontenoy in the rear, and cutting the French off from their bridge across the Scheldt. "If," says Voltaire, "the Dutch had moved at this moment and joined the British, there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat for the French army; nor, in all probability, for the king and for his son." Louis, in fact, had been advised to seek safety in flight; but either because he thought flight more dangerous than staying where he was, or from some nobler motive, he refused to quit the field, though repeatedly urged to it by Marshal Saxe, who, it is said, was actually preparing to retreat himself. Old Konigsegg congratulated the English Prince as a conqueror; but his compliments were premature. Saxe, who could not at first credit the fact, saw that Waldeck and the Dutch were determined to keep aloof; and then, calling away all the troops that had held Fontenoy and Antoine, laying bare the right of his position (which ought to have been occupied by our allies), bringing up the household troops and the entire body of his reserve, he tried to crush the British and Hanoverians by a last desperate effort. It was melancholy then to see the brave Irish brigade in the pay of France turn, the first and most furious of all, against their English brethren. From the nature of the ground they now occupied between the wood and Fontenoy, which ground was hollow and narrow, British and Hanoverian foot were huddled together in compact masses. Saxe brought four pieces of heavy artillery to play upon them in this condition; and while the cannon roared with murderous effect in their front, they were attacked in flank by fresh troops, both horse and foot. Meanwhile their own cavalry did little or nothing. This inactivity is accounted for by the roughness of the ground; but surely English horses could ride where the French could; and we are disposed to believe

that, as usual, our cavalry was far inferior to our foot.* But the foot itself was at last compelled to fall back, which they did slowly and with their faces to their foes. It is related of the Duke of Cumberland that he was the last in the retreat—that he called upon his men to remember Blenheim and Ramillies, and that he threatened to shoot one of his officers whom he saw running. Thus retreating, the English and Hanoverian infantry came to their horse, who then presented a front to the French and checked their pursuit. They were joined by their precious allies the Dutch, and then they all hastened back to the strong walls of Ath. If the men had had their will, and no enemy in their rear, it might have been difficult to prevent a very different kind of combat, for their fury against the Dutch was boundless. In this battle of Fontenoy the British lost, in killed and wounded, more than 4000 men, and the Hanoverians nearly 2000. They left behind them a few pieces of artillery, but no standards, and scarcely any prisoners except the wounded. The French, on their part, owned to a loss of 7000 men; but it is believed that on both sides the numbers were under-rated. Among the English officers of distinction who fell were Lieutenant-General Campbell and Major-General Ponsonby. Tournay, the cause of this vast slaughter, was delivered up through an astonishing piece of treachery. The town surrendered in a fortnight; and the citadel a week after! The French next invested the citadel of Ghent, which capitulated after an equally disgraceful defence; as did, in a brief time, Bruges, Dendermond, and Oudenard. Then, while the allies were covering Brussels and Antwerp, the French besieged and carried the town of Ostend. Here, again, a Dutch officer was suspected of

* It appears that one regiment of horse—the Oxford Blues—behaved better here than they had done at Dettingen. "The Blues," writes a Scottish officer, "behaved well, and rubbed off the stain of Dettingen."—*Letter from Colonel John Munro to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.*

treachery, and wonder and consternation was excited among the allies.

After defeating Prince Charles of Lorraine in Silesia, the King of Prussia threw himself between the Austrians and their auxiliaries the Saxons, and defeated both on the 3rd of June, in the decisive battle of Hohen Friedberg, where, for the first time, he really displayed the abilities of a great general. Prince Charles of Lorraine then retreated into Bohemia, and by the end of June he had collected a fresh army in an entrenched camp at Konigsgratz. Frederick soon retired into Bohemia, with the view—if he could do no more—of wasting and consuming all the means of subsistence along that frontier, so as to render it impossible for the Austrians to winter there. He advanced to Chlum, and there fixed himself for a time. In the meanwhile Maria Theresa, chiefly through the influence of George, had the satisfaction of seeing her husband Francis elected emperor by the Diet of Frankfort on the 13th of September. The King of Prussia and the Elector Palatine entered a vain protest against the election. But Frederick was a foe born to humble the Austrian pride. In the month of September want of provisions compelled him to retreat; Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been reinforced by the junction of 6000 Bavarians, followed him with nearly 60,000 men in all, and enveloped him near Konigshof. The Prussian army did not at this moment exceed 28,000 men; but they were veterans, whereas the enemy consisted in good part of new levies and irregular hordes of horse. Frederick again displayed the qualities of a great general: the light troops of Austria took to pillaging when they ought to have been fighting, and the affair ended in the brilliant, and, by the Prussians, unexpected, victory of Soor. The conqueror continued his retreat into Silesia, where he put his troops into winter-quarters, and then returned himself to Berlin to see what advantages he could gain by negotiating. He had already induced George to sign a convention at Hanover, guaranteeing to Prussia the possession of Silesia, and he hoped for other advantages

from the fears and increasing difficulties of the English sovereign. The convention of Hanover he kept a profound secret; for any compact with England was likely to deprive him of his French alliance.

In Italy the campaign was exceedingly unfavourable to the allies of England. Except upon the Maine, where the army under the Prince of Conti, weakened by draughts made upon it to strengthen the army in Flanders, was compelled to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss before Count Traun, the French in Europe were nearly everywhere successful. But in America they sustained a considerable loss in the capital and island of Cape Breton, which were taken by 4000 volunteers from Boston, assisted by a few marines, and supported by Admiral Warren with a squadron of ten ships.

But the flames of a more fatal war were now lighted on our own territory. The battle of Fontenoy and our other reverses in Flanders were made the most of by the French, who were always skilful in such exaggerations. The young Pretender was led to believe that his moment was come, and that, if he could only unfurl his banner on the hills of Scotland, it would soon be carried through a distracted and defenceless land—our armies being so engaged in Flanders—to the capital and the palace of St. James's. Charles, who had been shooting at Fitz-James, a seat which had belonged to the late Duke of Berwick, went to Paris to get assistance, and to raise some money, being determined to go even without a French army. He found the French ministers quite ready to countenance his schemes, but very badly provided with cash, and rather averse to any open or decided proceeding, which it appears would have given offence to their ally, the King of Prussia, whose schemes and intentions and negotiations were exceedingly complicated. Besides, to secure the advantages they had gained, it was necessary that the French should keep their army in Flanders; and their past experience proved that the sanguine hopes of the Jacobites were not to be relied upon so as to encourage any great adventure with

or for them. The French cabinet wished for a diversion in Scotland, but were not disposed to make any great sacrifices for it. The young Pretender might go, and little they cared what was his fate. The Highlanders had again expressly told him that his coming would be useless and desperate unless he brought with him at least 6000 disciplined troops, 10,000 stand of arms, and some money. The rashness was Charles's and not theirs—but dearly did they pay the penalty for it. He wrote to inform them that he was determined to come, though he could have neither the troops nor the arms required. As for money, all that he could do was to borrow about 6000*l.* sterling, and to write to Rome for his jewels that he might pawn them. Leaving Paris, where he had long dropped his incognito, Charles went towards the coast of Normandy, and fixed his residence for a time at the Chateau de Navarre, near Evreux, the seat of the young Duke de Bouillon, one of his warmest friends. His first business was to procure shipping; and this, it appears, was attended with some difficulty, being done at last in an underhand manner, without the knowledge of the French court.* He, however, obtained the Doutelle, a fast-sailing brig carrying 18 guns, which had recently been employed as a privateer against the English.† And he clandestinely got the convoy of the

* "It will appear strange to you," writes Charles to his father's secretary, Mr. Edgar, "how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French court. I employed one Rutledge and one Walsh, who are French subjects (they were of Irish extraction, the sons of refugees who had followed James II.: Rutledge had been settled at Dunkirk and Walsh at Nantz, and they had united to their trade as West Indian merchants the profitable calling of privateering against England). The first has got a grant of a man-of-war from the French court to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is luckily obliged to go as far north as I do, so he will escort me without appearing to do it."—*Stuart Papers in Lord Mahon's Appendix.*

† She had been fitted out for that purpose by Walsh, who now went with the young Pretender in her to Scotland.

Elizabeth, an old man-of-war carrying sixty-seven guns. The Doutelle went round to the mouth of the Loire, and Charles and the gentlemen who had made up their minds to accompany him went by different routes to the town of Nantes. On the 2d of July, Charles, disguised as a student of the Scotch college at Paris, embarked in the Doutelle, but he was detained till the 13th by the non-arrival of the Elizabeth, on board of which were embarked the greater part of the warlike materials he had been enabled to procure, and which consisted of some fifteen hundred fusils, broad swords, some twenty small field-pieces, some powder, ball, and flints. The money, which he kept under his own care in the Doutelle, was now not much above 3000*l*. At last the Elizabeth came to the rendezvous, and then the two ships sailed together, Charles suffering much from sea-sickness. On the fourth day of their voyage a ship bearing the English flag hove in sight. It was the Lion of fifty-eight guns, commanded by the brave Captain Brett, who, as soon as the wind permitted, engaged the two ships. The Doutelle presently hauled off and pursued her course, leaving the Elizabeth to sustain the combat single-handed, which she did gallantly for five or six hours, when she and the Lion parted about equally disabled. In the shattered condition in which his ship was left the French captain deemed it expedient to return to his own coast; the Doutelle, meanwhile, pursued her original course for the coast of Scotland, safe and unhurt, but cut off from the arms and ammunition that had been put on board the Elizabeth. Two days after the parting of the two ships the Doutelle was pursued off the south end of the Long Island by an English ship of superior force; but she was saved by her superior sailing; and, changing her course and ranging along the east side of Barra, she came to anchor off the islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist. As they neared the rocky shore, an eagle—no uncommon sight in those quarters—hovered over their ship. "Here," said Lord Tullibardine, one of the daring adventurers, "is the king of birds come to welcome your royal high-

ness to old Scotland!" Charles went on shore and was conducted to the house of the tacksman or tenant of Erisca, who rented all the small islands which composed that group. His quality was concealed, and his attendants gave out that the prince was a young Irish priest. From the tacksman they learned that the lord of those islands was MacDonald of Clanronald, a young chief, who was deeply pledged to the Jacobite cause; that this young chief had just gone himself to the main land, and was at Moidart; but that his uncle and chief adviser MacDonald of Boisdale was close at hand, with his brother, upon the island of South Uist. Charles stayed all night at the tacksman's, having sent a summons to MacDonald of Boisdale. In the morning he returned on board the Doutelle, where the chief of Boisdale soon waited upon him. This old Jacobite, on seeing one small ship and no more, thought that the young Pretender was mad, and he refused to engage his nephew in so desperate an enterprise. Charles then wished him to repair as his ambassador to Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod of MacLeod, two other chiefs with whom he had been in correspondence; but Boisdale flatly told him that such a mission to the Isle of Skye was useless, as he had very lately seen Sir Alexander and MacLeod, who had both declared that if the prince should come they would not join him, unless he brought with him a body of regular troops. The young Pretender then ordered his sailors to weigh the anchor, and the Doutelle, with Boisdale's boat hanging astern, glided away from the island, and advanced several miles towards the main. As soon as he was allowed—which he was when Charles found all his arguments and persuasions ineffectual—the old Jacobite got over the ship's side into his boat, and rowed back for his island. The Doutelle kept her course for the main land, and came to anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moidart and Arisaig. Young MacDonald of Clanronald presently obeyed Charles's summons, and went on board attended by several of his clan, and by the head of one of its branches styled MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart. But this

young MacDonald of Clanronald had some sense and discretion; and he represented, as his uncle had done before him, that it would be madness to take up arms without support from abroad. Charles entreated and implored, appealing to their warlike pride and other passions. During this conversation the parties walked backward and forward upon the deck, talking aloud; a young Highlander, armed at all points in the fashion of his country, was leaning against the tafferel, listening with all his ears and with excited glistening eyes. It was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, who had come on board without any knowledge of the prince being there. Charles observed the young Highlander's excitement—watched him as his colour went and came, as he shifted his place, compressed his lips, and grasped the hilt of his broadsword—add then, turning suddenly to him, he exclaimed, "You, at least, will assist me?" —"I will, I will," cried Ronald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword. I am ready to die for you." The enthusiasm was infectious—it caught both the MacDonalds, who swore that they would take up arms instantly, and endeavour to engage every man that wore the tartan to do the same. "At the first appearance of the royal youth, though I then knew him not," says another of the MacDonalds who had gone on board, "I found my heart swell to my very throat."* During the 19th, 20th, and 21st, Charles kept close on board with those who had accompanied him from France and with Clanronald:—on the 22nd Clanronald was sent to Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod to induce them to join, and Glennaladel was sent to gather Clanronald's clan and enrol some of the best of the men as a body-guard for the prince, and to be employed in landing the arms and ammunition. Clanronald's mission to the Isle of Skye was in vain; Sir Alexander MacDonald and his friend persisting that Charles ought not

* Lockhart Papers; Journals and Memoirs of Prince Charles's Expedition into Scotland, 1745-6, by a Highland officer in his army.

to have come without some regular troops, more arms, and money; and that, since he had not fulfilled his engagement, they were not bound in honour to concur in the enterprise. But at the same time encouraging messages were brought from the Glengarries and from other chieftains, some of whom came to the coast and carried back arms and ammunition for their people. On the 25th of July (o.s.) Charles, being thus assured of some support, set his foot for the first time on the main land of Scotland, with a train of only *seven* person—the Marquess of Tullibardine, styled by the Highlanders the Duke of Atholl, which he would have been by right of descent but for the bar of the attainder provoked by his conduct in 1715—Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been Charles's tutor—Sir John MacDonald, an officer in the Spanish service—Kelly, the non-juring clergyman who had been engaged in Bishop Atterbury's plot—Francis Strickland, an English gentleman—Eneas MacDonald, a banker in Paris, but brother to Kinloch Moidart—and Buchanan, who had been the messenger employed by Cardinal Tencin between Paris and Rome. These were afterwards called "The seven men of Moidart." They were now conducted to Borodale, a farmhouse in the neighbourhood, which belonged to young Clanronald, whence Charles despatched letters and messengers to nearly every mountain and glen in the Highlands. The gallant Cameron of Locheil received the summons and resolved to obey it; not, however, with the intention of joining the prince, but with a design of urging him to forego his rash enterprise and return to France, while he could do so in safety. On his way down to the coast, Locheil called upon his brother Cameron of Fassefern, who entreated him not to go forward, but to send his sentiments in writing. "I know you," said Fassefern, "better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."* But Locheil, saying that

* Hist. of Rebellion in 1745, by John Home, author of the Tragedy of Douglas.—The author says that Fassefern himself in the year 1781 told him this anecdote.

he must, in respect, wait upon the prince, continued his ill-omened journey to the fatal farm-house of Borodale. As soon as he arrived there, Charles took him aside, and artfully or eloquently laboured to remove his strong objections, which the chief stated to him manfully. Locheil for some time resisted, and, seeing that the young Pretender was determined not to re-embark, he advised him at least to lie concealed where he was. "No," cried Charles, now making his last and strongest appeal, "I am resolved to put all to the hazard. In a few days, with the few friends I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Locheil, who my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince!" This was too much for the "gentle Locheil," as he was always styled by the Highlanders; his resolution gave way, and he exclaimed with a warmth equal to that of Charles—"No! I will share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power!" And thus was the die cast; for, if Locheil had persisted in his original intention, there would have been no civil war, and the blood of Culloden would have been spared. Charles then gave a feast "in as hospitable a manner as the place could afford;"—men, women, and children crowded to see him, and the Highland chiefs and chieftains drank in deep cups—"*Deochs laint an Reogh*, which was good Erse for "God save the king." Lochiel returned to his clan, and sent messengers through Lochaber, and to every spot where there was a Cameron living, with word that they must march to Glenfinnin and join their chief in arms. Some detachments from the Glengarries were sent down to Charles at Borrodale, who then set out for Kinloch Moidart, a town distant about seven miles: he went himself by sea with his artillery and baggage, but the Highlanders marched close by the shore.* In spite of every precau-

* Charles, with his baggage, &c., was conveyed in three boats, furnished by the Highlanders. The Doutelle soon re-

tion, a surmise of the prince's landing was now whispered abroad; and the government having notice thereof, sent a detachment to reinforce their garrison at Fort William. It was upon this detachment that the Highland broadsword was first drawn. The regulars, which consisted of *two* companies, and not of four, as stated by the Jacobites, had to pass through part of the country of Glengarry and Keppoch, in the midst of lakes, mountains, and torrents. They were commanded by Captain John Scott, who set out at a very early hour of the morning of the 16th of August, that he might reach Fort William before night. Scott advanced cautiously, but without any disturbance, till he got near High Bridge, built over a mountain torrent which can hardly be passed by any other means; but then he heard a shrill bagpipe, and saw some Highlanders on the other side of the bridge, skipping about with swords and firelocks in their hands. He instantly halted his men and sent forward a sergeant with his own trusty body-servant to reconnoitre; but they had not gone many steps when two nimble Highlanders darted out from a cranny in the rocks, seized them, and carried them over the bridge. As he knew not what was their force—as they appeared more numerous than they were, and as the pass was so narrow and difficult, Scott turned face and retreated. The Highlanders let the soldiers go quietly for some two or three miles, till they saw them engaged in a very narrow road between Loch Lochie and a mountain, when they opened a murderous fire from behind trees and rocks—a fire which not only wounded Scott's men, but attracted other armed mountaineers to the spot. The regulars hastened their march, hoping to get to Invergary, a place of some strength; but they had not gone far when they saw ano-

turned to France, Walsh carrying with him a letter to the old Pretender, in which Charles begged a title for the *Armateur* and privateer owner. It appears the vain honour was conferred. There is still in France a *Count* Walsh—a descendant or representative of the original Walsh. This *Monsieur le Comte* has married an English lady.

ther body of Highlanders coming down the hill in their front, and heard bagpipes and fierce cries on every side. They were, in fact, surrounded, and Captain Scott was badly wounded, and two of his men were killed. They formed into a hollow square, but resistance was hopeless; and when MacDonald of Keppoch ran to the spot with a fresh party, offering quarter, and assuring them that if they attempted further resistance they would be cut to pieces, the soldiers laid down their arms. Matters were in this state when Cameron of Lochiel arrived on the spot with some of his clansmen, took charge of the prisoners, and conducted them to his house at Achnacarie.*

The general rendezvous of the Camerons and other Jacobite clans was appointed to be at Glenfinnin, a narrow vale in which the river Finnin runs between lofty and craggy mountains, inaccessible to horse. The vale is closed at either end by a loch, or lake, about twelve miles long. Leaving Kinloch Moidart, Charles repaired to this glen, and entered a shepherd's hovel to await the arrival of the clans.† For nearly two hours not a soul was seen; but then Lochiel and his men appeared hanging on the top of one of the mountains. The Camerons rapidly descended, and then advanced towards the prince in two lines, each line being three men deep, and the two companies of prisoners without their arms marching

* According to the Lord President of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes, who did more towards suppressing this rebellion than any man, the Highlanders had not much to boast of in a military point of view. In a letter to Sir Alexander MacDonald, whom he was labouring to keep steady in his determination not to join the rebels, Duncan Forbes says —"Two companies of the Royal made prisoners sounds pretty well, and will surely be passed for a notable achievement; but when it is considered that these companies were not half complete, that they were lads picked up last season in the low country, without anything of the royal but the name, and that their officers were raw, the achievement is not by any means so important."—*Letters in Appendix to Home's Hist. Rebellion.*

† Journal of the Highland Officer, in Lockhart Papers.

between the two lines. They were not all armed, but from 700 to 800 brave Highlanders stood in this martial array before Charles, who instantly gave orders to erect, for the first time, the royal standard. Old Tullibardine unfurled the colours, which were made of white, blue, and red silk, and were twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours; his lordship, supported by a Highlander on each side, held the flag-staff till a manifesto from James and his commission of regency to his son were read, both being dated at Rome, December, 1743. When this was over Charles made a short speech to the chiefs;—few of the common men could understand a word he said, but they all shouted till the mountains rang again, and "such loud huzzas and skimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud, was not heard of a long time."* On the same day, and shortly after the elevation of the standard, on the 19th of August, MacDonald of Keppoch joined with 300 men, and in the evening some of the MacLeods came to Glenfinnin, disclaimed their chieftain as a traitor and coward, and enrolled themselves in the rebel army. All that night they lay in Glenfinnin, which was not above fifteen miles from Fort William. On the morrow, the 20th of August, they began their march southward; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer, acting as quartermaster-general—an office scarcely needed in a Highland army. When Charles halted at Lochiel's house he was joined by MacDonald of Glenco, who brought him 150 men; by Stuart of Appen, who brought about 200; and by the younger Glengarry, who brought 200 more. His force now consisted of 1500 or 1600 men; and he confidently assured himself that, as he advanced, it would gather and grow like a snow-ball in motion.

On the very day that the rebel standard was erected at Glenfinnin, Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief for Scotland, put himself at the head of his troops, which

* Letter in Culloden Papers.—A marble column with a Latin inscription marks the spot where the standard was raised.

had for some time been drawing together near Stirling. A hint had been sent to Edinburgh on the 2nd of July that the Pretender's eldest son was expected to land in the Highlands that summer; and Cope, whose force was weak, had written repeatedly to London to the Marquess of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland, representing the necessity of providing against invasion and insurrection. After some scarcely pardonable delays, a little money and some instructions were sent down to the general. Sir John Cope then hastened his preparations, proposing to march his troops into the heart of the Highlands and fight the rebels wherever he might find them. Tweeddale and the lords of the regency, without knowing what force Charles had collected, and apparently without reflecting on the danger of engaging the only army they had in Scotland in the glens and defiles of the Highlands, and leaving the capital and the whole of the Lowlands open to attack, sent down an express with positive orders to Cope to march forthwith. That general sent out officers and intelligent sergeants in various directions to examine the ground; and the attempt was made to reinforce Fort William with two companies, of which we have seen the unfortunate issue. He continued to remain completely in the dark as to the force of the insurgents, and as to the positive whereabout of the young Pretender; and the Jacobites spared no pains to prolong this darkness, and to bewilder one that never saw very clearly—a man of routine, a martinet, that could play only one regular game in war, and who was disconcerted, like a bad chess-player, by every move except the most straightforward or transparent ones. Having collected all the men he could, Sir John Cope found himself at the head of about 1500 foot and two regiments of dragoons—Gardiner's and Hamilton's; both infantry and cavalry being chiefly composed, if not of raw recruits, of men that had never seen any active service. Considering that the horse would be unserviceable and difficult to subsist in the rough country, he left both the regiments of dragoons behind him; and with the foot, four field-pieces, four cohorns, a great

number of provision-carts and baggage-carts, and 700 stand of arms to distribute among the well-affected Highlanders, he marched away from Stirling to Crieff, intending to proceed to Fort Augustus. At Crieff he expected to be joined by hundreds, but not a soul came to his standard. He therefore sent back to Stirling 400 of the spare muskets he had brought with him, well knowing that arms were much wanted—that the whole of the Lowlands was most lamentably deficient of this means of defence—that there was a far greater want of guns and swords than of heart and courage. From Crieff Cope advanced to Dalnacardoch, where he arrived on the 25th of August, and where he met Captain Swettenham, who had witnessed the raising of the standard of the Stuart in Glenfinnin. The captain told the general that when he left the rebels on his parole their number did not exceed 1400 men; but he added that he had since met upon the road several parties going to join them, and had heard at Dalwhinnie a day or two before that they were 3000 strong. Yet Cope, assuming that they must be very indifferently armed, thought that even 3000* Highlanders might be beaten by 1500 regulars; and he continued his march to Dalwhinnie, where he arrived on the 26th. Captain Swettenham had assured him that the Jacobite clans, perfectly well aware of his approach, intended to bar his passage at Corryarrak, an immense mountain that lay between him and Fort Augustus, and directly in his line of march; and now this assurance was confirmed by the active and vigilant Duncan Forbes, who was fortunately in the Highlands at his seat called Culloden House, near Inverness and Fort George. Cope determined to change his route, but not before consulting a council of war, to which he summoned every field-officer and every commander of a separate corps in his

* "We were not," says the Highland journalist, "when our little army was encamped and provisions provided, above 900 men, under the command of Clanronald, Locheil, and Latinpoch. The MacDonalds of Glengarry, being 600 good raised, and the men of Appen being 200 more joined after-"—*Lockhart Papers.*

little army. He made them give this their opinion in writing; and then, on the following day, he quitted Dalwhinnie, and marched towards Garvamore, on the road to Corryarrak.

But, while he had been halting and hesitating, the light-footed Highlanders had been moving with their usual rapidity, and before he got eight miles from Dalwhinnie, when his line was thin and far extended, he saw some tartans darting along the hill sides; and then he called a halt, faced about, and, leaving the road to Garvamore, took, more rapidly than he had intended, the road which diverges there and leads by Ruthven to Inverness. No one had joined him, but not a few had left him. Early that morning Charles had ascended the summit of Corryarrak, expecting to see Cope advancing on the zigzag road; but he could see nothing but a few Highlanders, who proved to be deserters, and who assured him that Cope was going a different road. Instantly detachments were hurried in advance along the declivities of the mountains, and these men presently saw the English army moving off by the Ruthven road. The Highlanders exulted, and wished to run down and pursue, and give battle; but the chiefs thought it would be far better to let Cope go his way and strike off themselves into the Lowlands by the route which he had left completely open to them, and so advance to Stirling and the capital. And while Sir John proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August, the Highland army, moving far more rapidly, went through the mountains of Badenoch into the vale of Atholl, being joined just before or during their march by 100 men of the clan of the Grants of Glenmoriston, and by other little troops, all hot for Prince Charles and for the plunder of the South. On the 30th of August Charles reached Blair Castle, from which the Whig Duke of Atholl fled at his approach, while his brother Tullibardine (the Jacobite Duke of Atholl), prepared to take possession of his paternal mansion. Tullibardine, who was above sixty years of age when he entered on this desperate enterprise, feasted the prince and his an-

cestral vassals in the castle, and seems to have fancied that he had got his own again for good after a quarter of a century of exile and attainder. They stayed two days at Blair, and were joined by several Highland gentlemen bringing all the men they could; but still Fraser Lord Lovat, whose influence was immense, kept aloof, though Charles had sent him his patent to be *Duke* of Fraser, and his commission to be lord-lieutenant of all the northern counties. Cameron of Locheil had waited upon this wily head of the Frasers; but Duncan Forbes, true and stanch to the established government, was at the same time labouring to keep the old man quiet. "Lord Lovat," writes Forbes, on the 9th of August, "was with me here (at Culloden House) last Thursday, and has, by the bad weather, been detained at Inverness till this day. He has declared to me his full purpose to be prudent, and I verily believe him."* On the very next day, Forbes, writing to Sir John Cope for a supply of arms, expresses his apprehension that, should the Pretender move that way, Lord Lovat and others of "the well disposed" might be under considerable difficulties, as their clans had got no arms. He adds, however, that Lovat and Lord Fortrose had been with him again, and had promised to collect all their people to act in defence of the government. Lovat wrote in a somewhat different strain to Locheil—"My service to the prince," said the old fox; "I will aid you what I can, but my prayers are all I can give at present." This hoary sinner, who had crowded nearly every page of a long life with crime and guile—who had been of all parties and had betrayed all, but whose first public act was carrying off the Frasers to fight under the banner of Dundee for James II., as his last act was dying on a scaffold for the Stuart cause—evidently wished to gain time and to see what was likely to be the success of the young Pretender before he joined him. With such a man, to be prudent meant merely to join the stronger. No doubt he also wanted to

* Letter to Sir Alexander MacDonald in Home's Appendix.

obtain some of the arms for which Duncan Forbes was writing, before he should give any the least suspicion to the friends of government.* His son-in-law, MacPherson of Clunie, the head of a clan, was less circumspect; for, being taken prisoner—apparently a willing one—he forgot his oaths and obligations to government, which had appointed him captain of an independent company, and, after some conversation with Charles, joined him at once, and engaged to raise his clan for that service. After his two days' rest at Blair-Atholl, the young Pretender resumed his march to the south, and on the 4th of September he entered Perth. The money he had brought from France was already spent, and he had only one Louis-d'or in his pocket; but, showing the coin to Mr. Kelly, he gaily assured that nonjuring parson that he should soon get more cash. And, as active collectors, he forthwith detached armed parties of Highlanders through Angus and Fife, who proclaimed King James VIII., seized all the public money they could find, and levied the duties and taxes due to the established government. The city of Perth furnished him with 500*l.*; but he prudently abstained from plundering the merchants and dealers that were attending the fair at Perth on his arrival. It must, however, have been absolutely impossible wholly to prevent the wild Highlanders from indulging in their inveterate habit of "lifting." Still further to lengthen his diminutive purse, some hot Jacobites in Edinburgh and other places clandestinely sent him donations or loans, which were to be repaid when his father King James got his own again. But few of the Lowlanders appeared to recruit his little army. He fixed his residence in the town of Perth, in an old house belonging to Lord Stormont; and there he entertained the ladies of the place with a ball. At Perth James Drummond, in the Jacobite Red Book Duke of Perth, came and joined him after a narrow escape of arrest by the government. This Perth was young, brave, courteous, and inexperienced—a pleasing,

* Culloden Papers.

shallow-headed person.* Lord George Murray, a much older and a much abler man, who had been engaged with his brother Tullibardine in the affair of the Fifteen, came in at the same time to offer his sword and his military experience. Lord George had served several years abroad in the armies of the King of Sardinia. He has been generally esteemed the best officer and planner of a campaign that ever followed Charles. He had genius enough to soar above the pedantry of his art, and, seeing that there was no time to complete that military transformation, he recommended that no attempt should be made to perplex and confound the Highlanders with new tactics, new weapons, and new modes of marching and fighting; but that they should be left to their old methods, with merely a little improvement in the way of training. A printing-press was set at work at Perth, and proclamations were struck off and widely distributed. One of these, as a retaliation, offered *thirty pounds* to any person or persons that should seize and secure George, Elector of Hanover, &c. This was considered merely as a joke, or as a cutting way of expressing contempt; but, shortly after, this offer of reward was raised to 30,000*l.* On the 11th of September, with his army strengthened by above 200 men brought in by the Duke of Perth, by 100 who had joined under Robertson of Strowan, and by a handful of Lowland recruits, Charles left Perth; and, marching at the head of a detachment, he reached Dumblane that evening, having been joined on the road by MacGregor of Glenguile, with 250 MacGregors—"all with red hair"—and by MacDonald with 60 Macdonalds. He was now in a hurry to reach Edinburgh, for he had received news that General Cope, after getting to Inverness, was marching to Aberdeen, with the intention of embarking at that port and returning with all the speed that winds and waves would permit for the defence of the capital; and on the 12th he pushed forward from

* The caustic Horace Walpole calls Perth "a silly race-horsing boy."

Dumblane for the Frith of Forth. Knowing that several ships of the royal navy were stationed at the head of the Frith, and that the bridge of Stirling was commanded by the artillery of the castle, he directed his steps to Frew, a spot about eight miles above Stirling, where the Forth is fordable at low water. When he got to the ford of Frew, Gardiner's dragoons were on the opposite bank; but, instead of attempting to defend the ford, or to annoy the Highlanders on their passage, these unwarlike horsemen turned their horses' tails and trotted off towards Leith,* whither Hamilton's (the other body of horse which Cope had left behind him) had repaired some days before. Having crossed the river on the evening of the 13th, Charles lay that night at Leckie House. Continuing his march on the following morning he passed within a mile of Stirling Castle, from the ramparts of which one or two cannon-shots were fired at him. Traversing the field of Bannockburn he proceeded to Falkirk, quartered his men in that town, and took up his lodging for the night at Callendar, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock.

On the evening of that day—Sunday the 15th—the young Pretender and the whole of his army were quartered in Linlithgow, which is only sixteen miles from Edinburgh. A timid messenger carried this ominous news to the capital, which remained in a very defenceless state, for Cope had not got back from his Highland promenade, though transports had been despatched on the 10th to convey him and his troops. The citizens, who had been so long accustomed to a life of quiet, were thrown into consternation. At first, underrating the force of the Highlanders, they had despised the danger; and government had been extremely remiss in providing the means of defence. The reader by this time must have formed a pretty correct notion of what Cope's two regiments of dragoons were worth: these were now collected outside of the town, at Corstorphine, between Leith and Linlithgow, about three miles from the city walls;

* Highland Officer's Journal, in Appendix to Lockhart Papers.

and within the town the only force consisted of the town guard—"the Edinburgh regiment," a very indifferent body of men, who had been levied and embodied a week or two before—and the corps of Edinburgh Volunteers, who knew nothing of war, and whose number never amounted to 500 men. The chief command rested with the lord provost or principal magistrate, Archibald Stewart, who was afterwards suspected of Jacobitism, but who probably was merely unmartial and confounded like the rest. The city was indeed surrounded by a wall which had parapets; but the wall in many places was not ten feet high, and not stronger than a garden enclosure; and as for the parapets, they were for the most part too narrow to admit the mounting of proper cannon, if there had been proper guns to use, which, it appears, there were not. The castle on its steep rock was safe; but General Guest, a brave old soldier, who commanded there, had a very small garrison, and could hardly spare a man beyond the walls of the fortress. Still, however, according to Home, who was himself one of the most active and zealous of the corps, the volunteers, who had received each man a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box from the depôt in the castle, and who had been drilling, morning, noon, and night, for three days *and no more*, kept a good countenance, and seemed determined to fight the rebels. But the historian allows that Mr. Drummond, their captain, could only answer for 250 of the number. As their houses were high and strongly built of stone, and as the streets were narrow, they might have defended Edinburgh when the Highlanders had climbed the walls or forced the gates, if they had only had a sufficient supply of fire-arms and a little more confidence; but it appears that this idea was never suggested. Their own arms were few, and they had got it into their heads that the young Pretender was coming with a regular train of artillery, with which he might have battered down their houses. Even the ardour of the 250 volunteers, for whom Mr. or Captain Drummond too confidently undertook to answer, cooled at the near approach of danger. The officers complained that their

men would not follow, while the men complained that their officers would not lead; and when Captain Drummond, preparatory to a sortie against the enemy, halted near the town-gate called the West Port, and looked behind him, he could scarcely see a volunteer, except the forty men of his own company.* Drummond marched back with his company to the College-yard; and the Provost ordered his precious town-guard of ninety men and some of the Edinburgh regiment to join the dragoons without the volunteers. He might as well have sent the levies which marched through Coventry with Sir John Falstaff. On Sunday evening, while the provost and the other notables of Edinburgh were debating and speech-making in the Goldsmiths' Hall, Colonel Gardiner, having left an advanced post at Corstorphine, retreated with the rest of his dragoons to a field between Leith and Edinburgh, and sent back the worse than useless supply of infantry into the town. In the course of the night Brigadier Fowkes arrived from London, and took the chief command.

The Highlanders lay that night upon a rising ground between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, at the distance of about twelve miles from the capital. But early on Monday morning they began to move, the Pretender contriving to send beforehand a message to the people of Edinburgh, to acquaint them, that if they would admit him peaceably, all would be well; but otherwise they must make up their minds for military execution. As the rebels approached Corstorphine they saw the advanced party of dragoons; but they had scarcely more than a glimpse of them: for without touching sabre, pistol, or carbine, the dragoons wheeled about, and rode off to the main body, which was now posted by Fowkes and Colonel Gardiner at the east end of Colt Bridge, about two

* The author of Douglas hints, in a note to his History, that even Drummond's courage was all make-believe; that "he did not intend to fight the rebel army; but that his real intention was to make himself popular at the eve of an election, by showing extraordinary zeal."

miles from Edinburgh, on the way to Corstorphine. "But the main body did not long stand there: before the rebels came within sight, orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity imaginable. . . . . Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and, both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well, that before they reached Edinburgh they had quickened it to a pretty smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry and confusion through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's Park, in the sight of all the north part of the town, to the infinite joy of the disaffected and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed like a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart) calling to them that the Highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again and galloped to Prestonpans, about six miles farther."* Six or seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the Edinburgh volunteers, and some other volunteers who had come in from Musselburgh and Dalkeith, still mounted guard at the different gates of the capital; but the young Pretender's message, which was promptly delivered, and then the sight of the flying dragoons, presently settled the question of resistance or non-resistance in the hearts of most of the notables that had assembled to debate in the Goldsmiths' Hall. Yet the meeting thought it would take a middle course, and a deputation was sent out to Charles, desiring that hostilities might not commence till they had had more time for deliberation. The deputies had scarcely taken their departure, when the provost and magistrates received intelligence that the transports with General Cope's army

* A true account of the behaviour and conduct of Archibald Stewart, esquire, late provost of Edinburgh, in a letter to a friend; London, 1748. This pamphlet is attributed to the historian David Hume. Walter Scott says that there is strong evidence, both external and internal, for attributing it to that pen.

on board were off Dunbar; and that as the wind was unfavourable for coming up to Leith, the general intended to land at Dunbar, and then march with all speed to the capital. This piece of intelligence materially changed the face of affairs; and it was resolved to recal the deputation, and to apply to General Guest for arms, and for the recal of the fugitive dragoons. Guest had some doubts about risking his muskets, bayonets, and cartridge-boxes again in the hands of men who had given them up; and he told the magistrates that it was absolutely necessary for his majesty's service that the dragoons should be ordered to join General Cope, who had no cavalry with him. It is fair to doubt whether any messenger could have run fast enough to catch these performers of "the canter of Colt Brigg;" or whether, if the message had reached them, the dragoons would have had heart to obey it. Scared from Prestonpans they had galloped on to North Berwick, and seemed determined to stop nowhere till they should get under cover of Cope's infantry. There was another cause of embarrassment: the gentlemen composing the deputation could not be overtaken before they reached Charles, and they were now in his hands as hostages, and ready to be hanged—so thought their tender friends—if the town should ring the alarum-bell again, or attempt resistance. At about ten o'clock at night, the town being quiet the while, the deputies returned from Gray's Mill, a place within two miles of the city, where Charles was now quartered. The answer they brought was very peremptory. Charles demanded immediate possession of the city, threatening military execution if the citizens should refuse or delay. What was to be done? Cope was still some thirty weary miles off, and the Pretender was at hand with an army, whose force had been multiplied by their fears, and by ingenious arts employed by the Jacobites. The poor provost resolved to send a second deputation; and about two o'clock in the morning it set out in a hackney coach for Gray's Mill. But Charles refused to see them, and the deputies returned in their coach with heavy hearts and were set down near their houses in the High-street.

It was near five o'clock in the morning when the coachman turned his horses' heads to lead them to their stables in the Canongate, which suburb was then separated from the town by the walls and the strong gate called the Nether Bow. And, as the Nether Bow port was now opened to let this coach go out, Cameron of Lochiel and eight hundred Highlanders rushed in. The rest of the work was like a trick in a pantomime—easy and instantaneous; the town-guard and all the guards and sentinels upon duty were made prisoners without a blow, and the Highlanders occupied their posts and took possession of the city as quietly as one guard relieves another. Charles, who in the course of the preceding evening had been joined by David Lord Elcho, eldest son of the Earl of Wemyss, and a man of distinguished bravery, put himself in motion with the main body of his little army, at about ten o'clock, and, marching by Duddingston to avoid the fire of the castle, he entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall, and halted his men under Arthur's seat, in the hollow between the hills. It was there that Home carefully examined them, being anxious to carry some useful intelligence to Sir John Cope, to whom he was flying. They did not exceed two thousand men! They seemed to be strong, active, and hardy; but many of the men were low in stature, and, if clothed like Low-country men, would, in Home's opinion, have appeared inferior to the men in the king's troops; "but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it showed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular." As to their arms, Home says that they had no cannon nor artillery of any sort, except one small iron gun, which he saw, without a carriage, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland horse: about fourteen or fifteen hundred of the men were armed with firelocks and broadswords, those firelocks being of all sorts and sizes, including many fowling-pieces; some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some, swords without firelocks; many of the swords were not Highland broadswords, which they best knew how to use, but French swords; one or two companies were armed with

scythes fixed in the shafts of pitchforks. Home also took a glance of Prince Charles, as he crossed the King's Park on his way to Holyrood House; and he has left us an admirable picture of his personal appearance, which was by far the best part of the young Pretender. "The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth,* tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front; he wore the Highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park to show himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback. The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance; they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled, they said, in his figure, as in his fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes." When he came in front of the palace a cannon-ball fired from the castle struck James V.'s tower, and fell into the court-yard with a quantity of rubbish; but it harmed no one, and he entered the porch, preceded by a gentleman who had suddenly stepped from the crowd, and who now, with a drawn sword in his hand, walked upstairs before him.†

Locheil and his Highlanders, in securing all the arms they could find on first entering the town, had also secured the heralds and poursuivants which then, as still, were carefully and pompously maintained as emblems of

* He was in his twenty-fifth year.

† This was James Hepburn, of Keith, a man esteemed by all parties. In his youth he had been out in the Fifteen. Since then he had compounded the spirit of Jacobitism with the spirit of liberty; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings. He also condemned and abhorred the Act of Union, as something injurious and humiliating to his country, and which had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody.—*Home.*

Scottish royalty and independence. At the hour of noon these functionaries, with their trumpets and gaudy dresses, were marched up to the old Cross, where the clans were drawn up under arms, and were there forced to proclaim King James, and to read the commission of regency to Charles, the declaration dated at Rome, and a manifesto in the name of the Regent. While this was doing some of the mob huzzaed, and a number of Jacobite ladies stationed in the windows waved their white handkerchiefs; but very few gentlemen were to be seen in the streets or in the windows, and amongst the poorer people many showed their dislike of the pageantry by a sullen silence. By the unceasing exertions of the gentle Locheil, the wild Highlanders were kept from plunder and from whiskey. It is even said that they refused whiskey when offered to them by the people of Edinburgh; but this almost incredible fact rests upon Jacobite authority. In the evening the long deserted and dingy apartments of Holyrood were enlivened with lights, crowds of company, and a ball; and the younger of the Jacobite ladies were charmed into still warmer enthusiasm by seeing that Charles was an excellent dancer.

While they were proclaiming the young Pretender at Edinburgh, Cope was landing his troops, artillery, and stores at Dunbar; an operation that was not completed till the morning of the 18th. His men were discouraged at once by the panic-striken regiment of dragoons, which had continued flying on till they came to Dunbar, many of them without swords, pistols, or any other weapon. It was resolved, however, to move instantly upon Edinburgh; and Sir John Cope, with his usual fatality, chose the worst road by which he could go. It is true, however, that the shortest road was enticing, as a speedy arrival at the capital was deemed of the highest importance: but then Cope should have sent exploring parties up the hills and across the country to have an eye on the march of his enemies; and this he neglected to do—he caused to be reconnoitred nothing but the high-post road, and two or three diverging paths. And even to this end he employed persons unfit for the duty—some of the

young volunteers who had fled with the poet Home from Edinburgh. It was on the 19th of September that he left Dunbar with his little army, which made a great show with its cavalry, artillery, and long train of baggage-waggons. He went no farther than to a field a little to the west of Haddington, which town is only twelve miles from Dunbar. About nine o'clock at night, it being feared that during the dark hours the Highlanders might advance and surprise them, eight of the young volunteers, mounted on horseback, went by parties of two to examine the main road, and some other paths that diverged to Duddingston. These young men returned at midnight to the camp, and reported that all was quiet; and then other eight of them mounted and rode in the same manner till peep of day—but two of this last division of explorers never came back to Cope's camp. On the following morning Sir John continued his march; but when he came near Haddington he suddenly quitted the high post road, because, as he afterwards said, there were defiles and enclosures near it where cavalry could not act, and took the lower road by St. Germains and Seaton. The van of the army was entering the dead flats which lie between Seaton and Preston, when Lord Loudon, who was acting as adjutant-general, and who had gone forward to reconnoitre, came back at a round pace, and informed Cope that the rebels were in full march towards him—not by the road and the open country to the west, where alone Sir John had been looking for them, but by the ridge of hills to the south. Cope, however, thought that the plain he was in was good ground, and he pushed forward along the high road to Preston and Seaton, till he came to Prestonpans, where he formed his army in order of battle. The young Pretender, having previously been joined by the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stewart Threipland, Sir David Murray, and a few other Lowland gentlemen, and having exacted tents, targets, and shoes from the citizens of Edinburgh, and carried off all their arms—including, it is said, about a thousand muskets—had resolved to come forth and meet Cope. He was further encouraged

by the timely arrival of Lord Nairn, who brought up from the north 500 men—MacLauchlans and other Macs from Atholl. On the night of Thursday, the 19th, Charles repaired to the village of Duddingston, where the troops lay upon their arms; and at an early hour on the following morning he put himself at their head, drawing his sword and exclaiming—"Gentlemen, I have thrown away the scabbard!" The Highlanders moved on in a long narrow column, crossed the bridge at Musselburgh, and then struck away over the hills to the right, leaving the post road entirely. They paused on the heights of Carberry, where many a year before Mary Stuart had been led captive by her insurgent subjects. They did not halt again till they came in full sight of the king's army.* The regulars set up a tremendous shout, to which the Highlanders replied. Cope, who had shifted his front and re-formed his army, now lay with his right leaning on Colonel Gardiner's park-wall and the village of Preston, having on his left Seaton House and the sea, and a little in his rear the village of Prestonpans. At the distance of less than a mile the Highlanders formed on the declivities near the little town of Tranent. But between them and the king's army there was a swamp or morass cut by hedges, dry stone dykes, and willow-trees; and close in front of the king's army there was a ditch with a thick and strong hedge. It was about three in the afternoon when Kerr of Gradon, mounted upon a little white pony, rode down the hill-side to see if he could discover a passage for the Highlanders across the morass. He performed this duty with great coolness, notwithstanding the shots that were fired at him, but upon his return he assured Charles that the morass was impassable—that Cope's front was not to be attacked in that direction. Both armies lay inactive the rest of the day, except that Cope fired a few cannon-shots, and dislodged a party of Highlanders who had occupied the churchyard of Tranent. The night which followed, and

* Jacobite account of the young Pretender's operations.—Appendix to Lockhart Papers.—Home.

which proved dark and cold, was still more tranquil, the two armies lying upon the ground with their sentinels and piquets very close to each other.* But during that night several of the few Highlanders that had been induced to follow Cope from Aberdeen, deserted to their countrymen; and Robert Anderson, a Jacobite gentleman of the neighbourhood, who knew the country step by step, told Hepburn of Keith that he would undertake to show the prince's army a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. After consulting with Lord George Murray, Hepburn conducted this Anderson to Charles, who was found sleeping on the ground with a sheaf of peas for his pillow. Awaking, the young Pretender summoned Locheil and the other chiefs to council, and it was soon resolved to trust to the guidance and loyalty of the Lowland gentleman, whose father had been out in the Fifteen.

At the earliest peep of day, and under the favouring veil of a frosty mist, and the fog that hung over the swampy ground, the Highlanders began to move, with the Clanronalds in front, marching in column, three men in a rank. They came down by a hollow that winded through the farm of Ringanhead—not a whisper was heard amongst them. They were close to the place where Anderson intended to lead them through the morass, when some of the dragoons in piquet heard their footfalls, and shouted through the mist "Who goes there?" Apparently without waiting for an answer, which would not have been given, these doughty horsemen reined up, turned their horses' heads, and rode off to give the alarm—the only thing they could do. The clans, still as silent as death, pushed on rapidly, in spite of the boggy nature of the ground, in which they sometimes sunk to their kilts: they crossed the ditch upon a

* The Highland officer says—"We lay in sight of them till the evening, when our people grew very impatient to be engaged; but, with difficulty being restrained by authority, both armies lay upon their arms all night."

little narrow wooden bridge; and then the Duke of Perth, who led the column, ordered them to halt, face to the left, and form as usual. The first line consisted of six regiments, with the Clanronalds, the men of Glengarry and Keppoch on the right, the MacGregors and the Duke of Perth's men in the centre, and the men of Appin and Locheil on the left. Behind this first line stood a body of reserve, or second line, consisting of the Atholl men, the Robertsons of Strowan, the MacDonalds of Glenco, and the MacLauchlans, who were all commanded by Lord Nairn, but who were never engaged. Charles took his post in front of this body of reserve and behind the first line. Sir John Cope, who had not been sleeping with his troops on the field, but had gone to more comfortable quarters in Cockenzie, a little village on the sea-shore close by, being warned by the dragoons, was now on the field, and obliged to change his front and alter his dispositions in face of the enemy. Even with the best disciplined troops such sudden manœuvres, under such circumstances, are likely to produce some confusion. The outposts of the front had not time to find out the regiments to which they respectively belonged, and they formed awkwardly on the right so as to cramp the cavalry, and not leave them sufficient room to act. The mass of the infantry, consisting of four regiments, "Lees's," "Guise's," "Lascelles's," and "Murray's," two of which were very incomplete, stood in the centre: Hamilton's dragoons occupied the left, and Gardiner's dragoons and the artillery were posted on the right next the morass; there was no body of reserve, but they still had in their rear Preston, some strong stone walls, and Prestonpans; their baggage was to their left in the village of Cockenzie, which has a small harbour. The ground which intervened between the two armies was an extensive corn-field, plain and level, without a bush or a tree; and it was now lighted up by the morning sun, which had dispelled the fog and mist, and revealed the enemies to each other. "Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders

as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage."* Their first attack, under Locheil, was upon the guns. "The cannon," says a Jacobite that was present, "consisting of seven pieces and four cohorns, fired upon them as they marched, but did no execution, and was immediately seized; and the Highlanders (who never after that did regard cannon, which formerly had been very terrible to them) continued their march with loud huzzas."† The fact was, that Cope, having no regular artillerymen with him, had pressed a number of unskilful, unpractised seamen to serve these guns; and the sailors being badly defended, or rather not defended at all, by the dragoons, turned and fled after one or two random fires. Colonel Gardiner, who deserved to have better men under him, advanced at the head of his regiment, and did all that he could to make them charge the Highlanders and recover the guns; but the dragoons had no heart in them, and after receiving one irregular fire they wheeled about and galloped off, making a canter at Prestonpans as they had done at Colt Brigg. Abandoned by their horse, and seeing their artillery in the hands of the enemy, the infantry gave one weak, desultory discharge; the Highlanders threw down their muskets and rushed on them with their sharp claymores; the line broke—Hamilton's dragoons were galloping away as fast as Gardiner's—Murray's regiment of foot, which occupied the left, fled also: in a few minutes from the firing of the first gun the whole army, both horse and foot, was in flight, and the disgraceful affair of Prestonpans was over almost as soon as begun. Not one of the regular soldiers attempted to load his piece a second time, not one English bayonet was used. Charles had no cavalry: the whole amount of horse with him did not exceed the number of fifty, consisting chiefly of gentlemen and their grooms; but with a part of this Lord Elcho and Sir Peter Threipland spurred after the panic-struck dragoons, while the light-footed High-

* Home. † Account of the Young Pretender's Operations.

landers followed the foot to cut them down or make them prisoners. Few had courage enough to provoke the broadsword: the men threw down their arms and surrendered in heaps, and the actual loss on the side of the royalists in killed and wounded did not exceed 200 men and five officers; but eighty officers were taken prisoners, and the cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest were all left to fall into the hands of the Highlanders, whose loss amounted to four officers and thirty private men killed, and six officers and seventy private men wounded. One hundred and five of Cope's foot escaped and got to Edinburgh Castle, and about seventy found their way to Berwick. Sir John, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, collected about 450 of the dragoons, who fled too fast to be taken, and marched them, by Soultra Hill and Lauder, down to the banks of the Tweed at Coldstream, where they are said to have arrived that very night.* Colonel Gardiner, probably the best man and the best officer there, remained dead on the corn-field at Prestonpans. The veteran, disdaining to fly with his dragoons, though he was badly wounded, put himself at the head of a small party of the foot, a knot of true-bred Englishmen, who, though left without officers, stood their ground on a corner of the field. "These brave fellows," said he, "will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" and, riding to their front, he took the command and cheered them; but he was presently cut down by a fierce Highlander, armed with a scythe, and he sunk under

* Sir John—"*Johnnie Cope*," as he will be for ever called in Scotland—was merely ridiculed at first, but hotly prosecuted afterwards. It is reported that when he went flying on with his dragoons to Berwick, his brother officer, Lord Mark Kerr, received him with the sarcastic remark, that he believed him to be the very first general on record that had first carried the tidings of his own defeat. The Jacobites made epigrams and songs about him, one of which, commemorating his sudden wakening and his rapid flight, is known to every one that is a Scot, or that has lived in Scotland.

other wounds close to his own park-wall, and within sight of his happy home. They carried him senseless to the manse, or parsonage, of Tranent, where he soon expired, and was buried by the side of his children in that village-church. He was a truly virtuous and religious man, and his bravery was indisputable; but some people thought that he must have preached and prayed to his dragoons more than he drilled them; and, certainly, the regiment, which had been for a considerable time under his command, had not acquired any military virtue. The young Pretender, who had been with the body of reserve, which had nothing to do in the fight,* is said to have shown some magnanimity or prudence after it was over: he remained on the field till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and for the disposal of his numerous prisoners. He lay that night at Pinkie, and returned the next morning to Edinburgh with the 1,500*l.*—a seasonable supply—which had been found in Cope's military chest. He entered Holyrood House to the joyful tune of "The king shall have his own again," flags flying, pibrochs playing, and the Highlanders making a *feu de joie* by firing their pieces in the air. At a review a few days after there appeared only about 1400 Highlanders; some had been killed and wounded, it is true, but the large majority of those missing had gone home with the plunder and spoil they had made at Prestonpans. With the brave old General Guest still in the Castle, with the majority of the inhabitants of Edinburgh wishing every "sharp-edged claymore-man" behind Strathbogie, and the Pretender back in France or Italy, or in a still hotter atmosphere, any competent commander with 1200 or 1400 proper men might have settled the rebellion if he had come to Edinburgh on the 21st or 22nd; but there was no one at hand to take up the card which Cope had thrown away: there was scarcely the fraction of an English regiment anywhere north of Tweed; and thus the

* "One does not hear the boy's personal bravery cried up."—*Horace Walpole to Mann.*

Highlanders were allowed at their leisure to go and come, to deposit their plunder in the mountains, and to return on the look-out for more; and an irresistible temptation was offered to France and Spain to send money and troops. Duncan Forbes, and some other friends of the government, still remained in the north about Inverness and Fort George, in the hopes of raising the Whiggish clans and sending them to take the Pretender in the rear. The Duke of Argyll's vassals—all the clans that bore the name of Campbell, or had friendship and affinity with them—were resolute and ready to march for King George; but the Duke of Argyll was left without proper orders or instructions, and the men without arms. In vain had Duncan Forbes and Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the loyal and able Justice-Clerk, repeated their applications for muskets and bayonets—the government at London seemed to be deaf, careless, or stupified; or confident that Cope's ill-supplied army must have proved more than enough.

Without underrating the disinterested and romantic Jacobitism of the gentle Locheil, and two or three other chiefs, on the one side, or the incurable turbulence and predatory habits of some score of chiefs and chieftains on the other side, it may be believed that the great mass of the Highlanders who followed Charles were urged on by the poverty and hardships of their situation, and by the hopes of improving their condition; and that, if proper means had been adopted by the established government to furnish them with employment and bread, the name of the Stuarts would have been no more a magical name in the Highlands than it was in the fat plains of England. Since the Revolution which drove that dynasty from the throne, both nations had been making 'prodigious' strides in wealth and in general civilization and comfort; but these blessings were not extended to the bare and hungry mountains of the North, which remained in their primitive poverty and discomfort—materially increased by the increase of population. The numbers of many of the clans had, long before the r forty-five, exceeded the means of subsistence

afforded by the ground they occupied. In some of the straths and glens they were huddled together, and hundreds were compelled to live upon a bit of ground which, in England, with all the superiority of soil and agricultural industry to boot, would not have been made to support scores. In the wintry season it was no uncommon thing for them to support life by bleeding their black cattle, mixing the blood with a little barley or oatmeal, and frying the whole into a sort of cake. Trade they had none, except in occasionally exporting to the Lowlands their small black cattle: shipping they had none, because they had nothing by which to create and employ it; and because, like all the Celtic tribes, they had a strong prejudice and aversion to a seafaring life. The Highlanders were as inapt as sailors, as they were apt as soldiers. Their clannish institutions, their devotion to their chiefs, who were more to their respective clans than either king or law, and other obstacles, both natural and artificial, made it difficult for any government to change or suddenly improve their condition; but a wiser and more spirited government would assuredly have tried the effect of a gradual and gentle change—would have laboured to find out better means of subsistence and of education for a brave and excitable people—and would, most assuredly, never have rejected the proposals which had been made over and over again for employing the Highlanders, and disengaging them, by the influence of better feeding, from the desperate cause of the Stuarts. Seven years before this their last and terrible outbreak, Duncan Forbes, who was thoroughly acquainted both with the Highlands and Lowlands, waited upon Lord Milton, at his house at Brunstane, one morning before breakfast. Milton, surprised to see him at so early an hour, asked what was the matter. The lord president replied, that the matter he had to communicate was of some importance. "You know very well," said he, "that I am like you, a Whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different

schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now, I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme, which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect." After remarking that a war with Spain was at hand, and a war with France in all probability not distant, and that the struggle would demand far more troops than the standing army his majesty then had, Duncan Forbes proposed that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scotch officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment, leaving the posts of lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns to be filled by the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who, if left at home in their present poverty and discontent, were the very persons whom France and Spain would call upon to take arms for the Pretender. The Highlanders who had been raised and sent to serve in the army abroad had always been not only among the bravest, but among the steadiest and most contented of our troops; their Jacobitism never followed them beyond their own bare mountains. "If," continued Duncan Forbes, "government will pre-engage the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands." Forbes gave his scheme in writing, and with more detail, to Lord Milton, who fully approved of it, and submitted it to Lord Ilay, who had then the chief management of the king's affairs in Scotland. This brother of Argyll, who since then (by the death of his brother in 1743) had become Duke of Argyll himself, was delighted with the plan, carried it up to London, and presented it to Walpole. Sir Robert declared at once that it was the most sensible plan he had ever seen; and that he was surprised nobody had ever thought of it before. [If Walpole had looked a little back, he might have seen that a plan very like it had been suggested to William III.] Summoning a cabinet council, the minister laid Duncan Forbes's paper before them, and recommended the

measure as one which ought to be carried into execution immediately, in case of a war; but every member of that council, except Sir Robert, instantly declared against it, saying that, if government should adopt the plan, the English Opposition in parliament would instantly exclaim that he (Walpole), ever intent on subverting the British constitution, was raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army, and enslave the people of England.* The king, too, wanted to employ Hanoverians and Hessians, and to subsidise all his little neighbours in Germany; and the majority of the ministry knew that they could keep their places only by gratifying his majesty in this particular. Thus Hanoverians were preferred to Highlanders; and instead of five full regiments of the latter, only one was raised—the famed Forty-second, or the Black Watch, as it was then generally called—and this, it appears, was chiefly raised among the Campbells and the clans already attached to the House of Hanover.

In general, when project-makers find their plans rejected they are apt to become disaffected; but, happily for his country, this was not the case with the Lord President Forbes, who, in the moment of extreme danger, when the battle of Prestonpans was fought, remained in the Highlands; and, by unceasing exertions, by employing his own money and his own credit, by exercising all the talent of a true statesman and the virtue of a true patriot, he was now succeeding in assembling such a force about Inverness and Fort George, as served to distract the counsels and interrupt the supplies of Charles, and to pave the way for his final downfall.†

The English had certainly no right to accuse the unarmed Lowlanders of Scotland of a want of spirit, for their own spirit was, at moments—we mean, of course, in the beginning of the rebellion,—at an exceedingly low

* The venerable author of Douglas, and of the History of the Rebellion, says that all these particulars were communicated to him by Lord Milton himself.

† Duncan Forbes to Sir Andrew Mitchell.—*Culloden Papers.*

ebb. They cried out for succour to the Dutch, as if English hearts and hands were not sufficient; and the government pressingly demanded the 6000 auxiliaries which the States-General were bound to furnish. The rich and peaceful citizens of London were for a time as much afraid of the Pretender, though more than three hundred miles off, as had been the burghers of Edinburgh when he was only three miles off. Even Fox, a member of the administration, said in a confidential letter to a friend —"England is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch and the ten battalions of English we have sent for from Flanders, or 5000 French or Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate." This was written on the 5th of September; and on the 19th of the same month Henry Fox wrote to the same friend —"The French are not come, God be thanked! But, had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle."

The bad news had brought George rapidly over from Hanover to London, where he had arrived on the 31st of August; but he seemed to think, first, that Sir John Cope would be enough—then, that the 6000 Dutch and ten English battalions would be more than enough; and no pains were spared by Lord Granville (Carteret) and his party, who were still constantly consulted, to persuade his majesty that there was no danger whatever, and to hint, less directly, that if they had been in office the insurrection would not have happened. On the 20th of September, when three battalions of Dutch had been landed at Gravesend, and had received orders to march to the north of England, Horace Walpole wrote—"Lord Granville and his faction persist in persuading the king that it is an affair of no consequence; and, as for the Duke of Newcastle, he is glad when the rebels make any progress, in order to confute Lord Granville's assertions." In this manner was the civil war neglected, and the property and lives of thousands left to depend upon the desponding or sanguine humour of majesty, and upon the intrigues of ministers and ex-ministers, base

enough to manœuvre for place and favour at a critical moment like this. The Common Council of London was as much split into parties as the privy council of his majesty, and equally capable of overlooking the real dangers of the country in their indulgence of jealousy and animosity against each other. The merchants of London, however, opened a subscription at Garraway's coffee-house in order to raise a fund of 250,000*l.*, to be spent in troops, and several of them subscribed as much as 200*l.* a-piece. They also entered into associations and subscriptions for sustaining the Bank of England, upon which a run at one moment began to be made, and for supporting the public credit in general; but self-interest would, without any extraordinary patriotism, have suggested this latter course.

The household troops, horse and foot, a regiment of horse grenadiers, and some of the battalions as they came from Flanders were encamped in Hyde Park. In the provinces several great lords professed to raise regiments at their own expense; meaning, however, to be more than paid for their outlay. Few or none of these lords were either so disinterested or so prompt as Doctor Herring, the excellent Archbishop of York. "He," says Horace Walpole, "has set an example that would rouse the most indifferent: two days after the news arrived at York of Cope's defeat, and when they every moment expected the victorious rebels at their gates, the bishop made a speech to the assembled county that had as much true spirit, honesty, and bravery in it as ever was penned by an historian for an ancient hero."* Under this prince of the church bodies of horse and foot were raised in Yorkshire with admirable rapidity, and not one gentleman there thought of making a profitable job out of his courage and patriotism.† The archbishop, who, in such a case, may be excused—nay, applauded—for following the warlike conduct of more ancient pre-

* Letter to Horace Mann.

† "That county," says Horace Walpole, "raises 4000 men, besides a body of fox-hunters, whom General Oglethorpe has converted into hussars."

lates, was constant at muster and review, and declared that he would be ready to fight with the gentlemen and burghers of the north.* His example had the best of effects: the nobility and gentry of Lancashire entered into an association to raise 3000 men; similar measures were adopted, under the bishop and Sir Robert Grosvenor, in Chester, where even the Catholic gentlemen associated and subscribed, declaring that this mad attempt of the Stuarts tended only to ruin them and their religion in Britain. A similar association was set on foot in Surrey, under Lord Onslow.

Parliament assembled on the 18th of October, when George announced in form the breaking out of the unnatural rebellion, and the dangers of Popery and arbitrary power to which the nation was exposed. The House of Commons did not assemble in full force, for many of the Scotch members could not have come if they had been willing, as the young Pretender had published a declaration, threatening to confiscate the estates of all Scots that should dare attend this parliament; and though it was doubtful whether his edict of confiscation could be lasting, it was quite certain that he had the power of letting his Highlanders loose in the Lowlands, and of wasting or plundering every estate there. In the same declaration Charles denounced as traitors all the English members that might meet at Westminster.

The session was scarcely opened when it was seen that the Jacobites who attended, and who in all probability had been encouraged to attend, in spite of the declaration, had wonderfully plucked up their spirits. They opposed the address, and offered many obstructions to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. But what was a far worse sign than this Jacobite opposition, which was too weak to venture upon any division, was the mean selfishness of the Whig magnates and others who had offered to raise regiments for the defence of their country. The Dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, Rutland, and

* Doctor Herring was promoted to Canterbury in 1747. He died in March, 1757, universally respected.

Montague, the Lords Herbert, Halifax, Cholmondeley, Falmouth, Malton, Derby, and four more, insisted that their regiments should be put on the regular establishment, and be paid by the king—and, "not much to the honour of the undertakers, or of the firmness of the ministry," this was carried. Those noble and most disinterested colonels had named none but their own relations and dependents as officers; and these officers were to have rank with the brave old part of the army which had served all the war—with veterans who had grown grey in the service. People at once left off praising the heroism and patriotism of these great lords to abuse their littleness of soul; nor are we prepared to say that on this head the popular clamour was a single note too high. The king was much averse to the new men taking rank as if they were in his own old army. He could not, however, refuse the Lords what they demanded; but he hoped or wished that the House of Commons would feel the meanness of the demand, and address him not to grant it. But, though there were plenty of members to oppose the raising of the regiments altogether, there appears not to have been one that took his majesty's view of the case, or that ventured to urge the arguments he wished. In effect, though the levies "of these patriot heroes, the regiment-factors," swelled the army-list with lordlings and other utterly unexperienced officers, and had cost the government more money than regiments raised in the ordinary way, they were of exceedingly little use in the field—the men mutinying on some occasions when called upon to march out of their own counties, and the officers not knowing how to command the men anywhere. In Ireland, where apprehensions were entertained of a rising, and where the young Pretender's brother was for a long time expected with Louis XV.'s Irish brigade, the Protestants of all denominations made vigorous exertions, and a nobleman was found that could make a splendid offer without demand or hope of usurer's interest. This was James Fitzgerald, twentieth Earl of Kildare, and subsequently first Duke of Leinster. He proposed to ministers to raise, clothe, and arm a regiment at his own

and sole expense; but, though his loyalty was undoubted and the motives which attached him to the established government, as obvious as they were powerful, ministers told him in reply that the king had no occasion for his regiment.

Meanwhile troops—Dutch, Danes, and English—came over, and the Duke of Cumberland arrived from Flanders to take the chief command. The flower of that brave army which had stood the murderous fire of Fontenoy began to rendezvous in the centre of England, about Lichfield and Coventry; and old Marshal Wade advanced into the more northern counties of England. Charles had thus lost his opportunity of marching into England when it was bare of troops; and to march now, as he was actually doing, was an act of madness, or at the best an expedition which could only end like a Highland raid or foray. After the battle of Prestonpans he lay at Edinburgh while his father was proclaimed in almost every town in Scotland. The civil authorities had all fled, leaving all the attributes of government to him and his adherents. The banking companies had made themselves and their money safe within the strong walls of the Castle, where they continued in spite of his tempting proclamations. The Presbyterian clergy, who still exercised an immense and a paramount influence over all the Lowlands, absented themselves from their pulpits in the capital, and one of the few that remained—the famed Mac-Vicar—is said to have continued praying for King George, his lawful sovereign, adding to his prayer, "And as for the young man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy to take him to thyself and give him a crown of glory." Although the Highlanders were not good missionaries to convert the Whig Lowlanders and change their Presbyterianism and their Whiggery, they were uncommonly effective as collectors of the taxes which Charles imposed to support himself and his army. Out of Glasgow they got 5000*l.*, and minor sums were raised in many other places under the sharp claymore and the Highland buckler. In returning to their homes with the booty they had made at Preston-

pans, they had promised as soon as they had gotten their harvests in to return to head-quarters five times more numerous than before; and it behoved Charles to wait for them. It appears that at one time he flattered himself that Edinburgh Castle would be put into his hands by the treachery of some within that garrison. The Highlanders at first kept guard in some old buildings near the Castle-wall, but allowed necessaries of every kind to pass into the garrison. But, disappointed in his first hope, and being informed that the Castle was badly provided, Charles resolved upon a blockade, and on the 29th of September orders were given to the Highlanders to allow no person to pass or repass into the Castle. General Guest, the governor of the Castle, forthwith sent a letter to the provost, who, as yet, continued at his post, acquainting him that, unless a free communication was allowed between the Castle and town, he must begin to use his cannon on the latter, to dislodge the rebels who were blockading him. Guest, however, agreed to suspend his cannonade until the return of an express from London. But the wild Highlanders understood little about truces and suspensions; and some of them, probably tempted by a good mark, or anxious to get the good things they were carrying, fired at some people that were conveying provisions up the Castle-hill. Guest, interpreting this irregularity as a breach of the agreement, opened a fire from his battlements, using both cannon and small arms, against the houses that covered the Highlanders on the blockade. Charles then strictly prohibited all correspondence with the Castle upon pain of death, and strengthened the blockade by posting additional troops on several points. Hereupon Guest informed the magistrates that he must forthwith demolish those houses that stood nearest the Castle, but that care should be taken to do as little damage as possible to the peaceful inhabitants. From two o'clock on the 4th of October till sunset a terrible fire was kept up by the Castle; and as soon as it grew dark the garrison made a vigorous sally, set fire to some houses, and made a trench between the Castle and the upper end of the High-street, where they

planted some field-pieces, and fired down the street with cartridge-shot. Next day the cannonade was continued, and several of the Highlanders and a few of the unfortunate inhabitants were killed or wounded.* The loud cries and murmurs of the people were calculated to make many impressions besides that of compassion; and in the evening the young Pretender published a proclamation recalling his former orders, withdrawing his troops from the blockade, and allowing a free communication between the town and the Castle. During the contest with General Guest, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 6th of October, very few people either in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood joined the Pretender; and no men of quality whatever except Lord Kilmarnock and Arthur Elphinstone, who became soon afterwards, by the death of his brother, Lord Balmerino. But the nobility and gentry of the mountains, and of that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands began to come in rather freely. The first of them that reached Edinburgh was Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, who brought with him a good regiment of 600 men. The very next day—the 4th of October—Gordon of Glenbucket arrived with another regiment of 400 men; and on the 9th Lord Pitsligo presented himself with six companies of infantry and a great many gentlemen from Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a respectable-looking body of cavalry. But Pitsligo, by the force of character and example, was of more value to the cause than another man would have been, though he had quadrupled his actual levies. His lordship was not rich—few Scotch lords then were, unless they jobbed at court,—but he was exceedingly beloved and esteemed by all his neighbours, who considered him as wise as he was amiable, and who gave him so much credit for wariness and caution, that they

* It appears that during the cannonade the young Pretender left Holyrood House for a much safer place—that is, for Duddingston, where the mass of his army was encamped, and where Guest's cannon-balls could not reach him.

concluded the cause must be both good in itself and likely to be prosperous in its issue when he could make up his mind to join it. But still those powerful island chiefs, Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod of MacLeod, kept sternly aloof; while the still more powerful Lord Lovat quibbled and hesitated. Notwithstanding all the representations of Duncan Forbes, that old chief had been wonderfully elated with the news of the battle of Prestonpans, declaring that it was a victory not to be paralleled in history; and that, as sure as God was in heaven, his right master would prevail. He had already connived at sundry little levies and marchings of the Frasers to join his son-in-law, MacPherson of Clunie; and now he began to complain to Duncan Forbes, with whom it was necessary to wear a mask to the last, that, while he, Lord Lovat himself, was in a deplorable state of health—with a most terrible stitch in his side—with a shortness of breath—with horrible tortures that would not yield even to warm brandy—his eldest son and heir, losing all fear of God and of his father, was exerting himself for the false prince and carrying off his vassals from their allegiance to King George.* But the truth, which became perfectly clear soon after, was this: "the obstreperous and unnatural son," as Lovat chose to call the heir of his house, was in reality set on by his truly unnatural father, who had ever behaved to the young man in a tyrannical and brutal manner, and who was now intending to make him his stalking-horse, and, if need were, his scape-goat.† The artful blind was further intended for his own security—for there had been repeatedly a talk of putting him under arrest—and for keeping together unhurt and in arms all the rest of his clan, so that he might declare

* Lord Lovat to the Lord President, in Culloden Papers.

† "It appears," says Walter Scott, "from the evidence of Fraser of Dunballoch and others upon Lord Lovat's trial, that all this while the threats and arguments of the father were urging the son (afterwards the highly esteemed General Fraser) to a step of which he disapproved, and that he was still more disgusted by the duplicity and versatility with which his father qualified it."—*Art. in Quart. Rev.*

himself with weight and effect at the most proper moment. The person he most feared was Lord Loudon, who had kept together a good strong regiment in the Highlands, and was daily enlisting more men for the service of King George. Meanwhile the other great Whig lords of the Highlands were far from being so active and honest as Loudon and Duncan Forbes. Whether residing about court, or being at the time in the North, most of these noblemen betrayed an astounding degree of selfishness. One of the greatest among them—the Duke of Hamilton—was discontented because government had not given him the lord-lieutenancy of his county; the Duke of Queensberry had other grounds of personal dissatisfaction, and so had the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Buccleugh, the Marquess of Lothian, Lord Dumfries, and nearly all the rest. These thanes seldom agreed among themselves, except upon the single point of jealousy and hatred to the Duke of Argyll. Lord Marchmont confesses without a blush, that they had a party purpose in view, and meant all they did or offered for a political use—that is to say, to show that they could serve King George better than Argyll could, and that, consequently, they were better fitted for honours and employments, and the real men that ought to have the government of Scotland in their hands.* In this manner did the dissensions of a corrupt and jobbing aristocracy tend to leave the people in the Lowlands of Scotland at the mercy of the Jacobite clans, and to favour the Pretender's march into England, which could hardly have been undertaken now if half of the great lords had raised their men in his rear.

On the 10th of October Charles had published a proclamation, abolishing for ever the Act of Union, or announcing that his father would never ratify this "pretended union," though he was ready to approve and confirm all other laws or acts which had been passed since the Revolution, if called upon so to do by a free and legal Scottish parliament. Charles thought at one

* Diary of Hugh Earl of Marchmont, in the Right Honourable Sir George Henry Rose's Selection from the Papers of the Earl of Marchmont.

moment of calling a Scottish parliament at once to meet in Edinburgh, but in the face of many difficulties he readily gave up that scheme. As the weather grew more stormy and foggy, a few more French ships braved the vigilance of the English cruisers and privateers: one got into Montrose with about 5000*l.*, and two or three others contrived to land on the same coast 5000 stand of arms, six field-pieces, a little more money, and several experienced officers, French and Irish. Nay, in one of these ships there ventured over M. de Boyer, who brought a letter of congratulation from Louis XV. Charles received this Monsieur as a regular ambassador from the court of Versailles, and paraded him as such among his Highland chiefs, whom he deluded into the belief that Louis was soon going to send an immense army. Another gentleman was forthwith sent to France to give a magnified account of his successes, and to press for further and immediate supplies. Indeed, five or six thousand pounds would not go far with as many thousand hungry Highlanders. Various odd and irregular methods were resorted to to obtain more cash. The Highlanders in and about the camp at Duddingston were still less particular, for they occasionally demanded *bawbees* from the peaceful passengers with levelled muskets or brandished claymores; and, to make matters worse, the young Pretender had thrown open all the gaols, and the emancipated felons, putting on the Highland kilt and mounting the white cockade, levied more considerable contributions as real Highlanders.

Charles had by this time a regular council of state, consisting of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, his two lieutenant-generals; O'Sullivan, his quartermaster-general; Lord Elcho, a colonel of his horse-guards; Murray of Broughton, his secretary; Sir Thomas Sheridan, his former tutor; the Lords Ogilvie, Nairne, Pitsligo, and Lewis Gordon; Cameron of Locheil, and all the greater Highland chiefs. But, if we are to believe Lord Elcho, one of the members of it, Charles might just as well have had no council at all, being prevented by the old family obstinacy of the Stuarts from taking its

advice. "His royal highness," says Elcho, "could not bear to hear anybody differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to everybody that did." His lordship also assures us that about one-third of this council consisted of true Tories and divine-right men, whose principle it was that kings and princes could never do or think wrong.* The place where he was seen to most advantage was indisputably the ball-room; and Charles entertained the fair Jacobites with several gay balls while he stayed at Edinburgh. But this kind of life could not last; it was necessary to hear the louder music of cannon-balls, and do something, unless he intended to remain to be attacked at Edinburgh. He had all along expressed his determination of marching into England. His uneasiness about his rear was partly removed by the assurance of Fraser of Foyers that old Lord Lovat would now declare on the right side, and that not only the MacIntoshes and the MacKenzies, but also the MacDonalds and the MacLeods of Skye, had engaged in honour to join Lovat and the Frasers on the Corryarrak.† But the old fox was deceived as to the intentions of the MacDonalds and the MacLeods of Skye, the most powerful of the clans; and he despatched his secretary, Hugh Fraser, to acquaint Charles that he had once expected to have assembled a body of four or five thousand men, and to have marched at their head to Edinburgh, but that, as some people had not acted up to their engagements, and as he was so old and infirm, he had resolved to stay at home, leaving his eldest son, with the clansmen he had with him, to serve the prince. And as old Lovat did not declare himself until some time after Charles had left Edinburgh, and as few of the Frasers went farther than Perth, they were of little use to the insurgents. The Highlanders who had fought at Prestonpans returned, however, to their standard; and by the end of October, Charles mustered, in all, from 5000 to 6000 men, of whom about

* Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs, as quoted by Walter Scott in his Tales of a Grandfather.

† Foyer's Letter to Tullibardine in Home's Appendix.

400 were cavalry and 4000 real Highlanders. All the regiments of foot wore the Highland dress. The council in Holyrood was much divided in opinion: some proposed waiting until the arrival of that French army of which the Prince had spoken so confidently; some wanted to wait at least till they had got more money from France; and some were of opinion that he ought not to go to England at all, nor aspire to the possession of that throne, but content himself with the ancient kingdom of Scotland, as his ancestors had done before him. But at last it was resolved to march, sanguine hopes being entertained of a Jacobite rising in England as soon as they should get across the borders; and on the last day of October, at six o'clock in the evening, the young Pretender left Holyrood House. That night he slept at Pinkie House, as he had done the night after the battle of Prestonpans; and on the 1st of November, having appointed Lord Strathallan to command in Scotland during his absence, he began his march.* He was now joined by MacPherson of Clunie and by Menzies of Sheen, who brought about 900 more Highlanders; and this was the last reinforcement that joined. The wholy army was divided into two columns: the first, with the baggage, artillery, &c., to move upon Carlisle by the direct road through Moffat; the second, headed by Charles in person, to take the more circuitous route by Kelso, as if it intended to enter England not by Cumberland but by Northumberland, and to meet Marshal Wade, who lay at Newcastle, in front. It was soon observed that the common men of the clans were less enthusiastic than usual. To make raids and forays on the Lowlands of Scotland, was work to which they had been accustomed, and the success of which in all times was recorded in a thousand ballads and traditions; but the country beyond

* Strathallan was to remain at Perth with some Jacobite gentlemen and a few French and Irish officers and their men, to look after the succours expected from France, and to form an army of reserve of such other Highland clans as might come in.

the Cheviot and the Tweed was an unknown world to them, and they liked not to go so far from their homes, uncertain as they were of the intentions and the power of the Whig clans they had left behind them. Charles crossed the Tweed at Kelso, and halted one day at that little town. From Kelso he sent forward to Wooler with sham orders to prepare quarters there for his troops, as if he intended to march eastward; but when he moved he struck to the westward, marching down Liddesdale; and, crossing the river Esk on the 8th of November, he and his men occupied that night a place called Reddings, in Cumberland, on the road to Carlisle, from which important city the attention of Wade had been completely withdrawn by the deceptive movements of the Highland army.* Next day the other column, which had gone by the Moffat road, having turned suddenly westward, as agreed upon, joined on the Carlisle road, and the whole army marched forward for that city, which they summoned in form on the 10th.† Carlisle, like all our old inland fortified towns, had been suffered to go to decay since the cessation of the fierce border wars between the Scots and English. It was surrounded by a very old and

* Account of the Young Pretender's Operations, in Lockhart Papers.

† "November the 9th, the rebel army appeared on a moor, two miles distant from Carlisle, on whom the garrison began to fire, and continued it briskly for some time. The Pretender took up his quarters at Mr. Lowry's, of Blakewell, from which, on the 10th, he despatched a messenger, to whom he gave two guineas, with a letter to the garrison, which was received in at the sally-port. . . . . On which the garrison thought proper to confine the messenger, and returned no other answer but from the mouths of their cannon.—*A Complete History of the Rebellion, from its first rise, in* 1745, *to its total suppression at the glorious battle of Culloden, in April,* 1746. *By James Ray, of Whitehaven, Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*—This Volunteer Ray was rather a silly, vapouring person, but he saw a good deal of the military operations, and is to be depended upon when he describes what he has seen with his own eyes. In other particulars his very absurdities render him amusing.

very infirm wall; it had a castle stronger than the wall, but with no other garrison in it than a company of invalids, commanded by Colonel Durand. Within the city, however, there was a considerable body of Cumberland and Westmoreland militia; and the officers of that force, Colonel Durand, and Mr. Pattison, the mayor, resolved to defend the place, and return no answer to the summons. They, no doubt, expected that General Wade would soon come across from Newcastle to their relief; and, in effect, before the Highlanders could break ground, intelligence was received that Wade was in full march, by Hexham, to raise the siege. Upon this the whole rebel army was ordered to march to Brampton, in the forest of Inglewood, seven miles from Carlisle, to wait for Wade there; but at Brampton no English troops were seen or heard of; and, after losing three days, it was resolved to return to Carlisle and besiege that place in form. The Duke of Perth had the direction of the siege, which Lord George Murray covered. Charles himself remained with a strong detachment at Brampton, and appears not to have moved till the business was finished at Carlisle. For a short time the Cumberland militia-men fired very briskly all along the walls, making a great noise, and hitting a very few of the enemy; but when they saw Perth erecting a battery, or rather preparing to erect a battery, with a few contemptible light pieces upon it, their hearts failed them, and they hung out the white flag. Perth and his officers refused to admit the town to a separate capitulation, and insisted that the castle should be included in the surrender; and both town and castle were accordingly surrendered on the 15th of November, at the very moment when Marshal Wade in reality had begun to move from Newcastle to their relief. This easy acquisition was matter of great triumph; but during the short siege Perth had quarrelled most violently with Lord George Murray; and, as Perth was allowed the honour of signing the capitulation, the quarrel became still further envenomed. The mass of the Highlanders were a sort of Protestants, and were therefore disposed to hate the Duke of Perth, who was a Papist.

The army murmured; and Lord George Murray insisted upon resigning his commission as lieutenant-general, telling the prince he would continue to serve as a volunteer to the last drop of his blood; this was presently followed by a petition from several officers, praying Charles to dismiss all Roman Catholics, and reinstate Lord George Murray. Perth then waited upon the prince, and resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, assuring him at the same time that he would remain at the head of the regiment which he had raised. The young Pretender could do nothing but submit to circumstances. Perth was left to serve as a colonel of a regiment, and the sole command was intrusted to Murray, who was far the more competent of the two.

On the 17th Charles made a triumphal entry into Carlisle, where the people seemed stupified, but by no means disposed to welcome him or to join him. A council of war was called to decide what was to be done next: some proposed to march towards Newcastle, and bring Wade to an action; some thought it would be better to march directly upon London by the Lancashire road; and others thought it would be best of all to go back into Scotland, as there was no appearance of an invasion from France, and just as little of a Jacobite rising in England. Charles, it is said, declared that he would adhere to his original resolution in marching forward at all hazards. If, instead of advancing, Charles had chosen to retire, he would not very easily have got back to his old lodgings in Holyrood. He had scarcely turned his back upon Edinburgh, when the crown officers re-entered that city in solemn procession, —while he was resting at Kelso, the garrison of Edinburgh Castle was reinforced, levies of men were made for King George, and now Wade had sent forward two regiments of cavalry to support the forces assembled in Edinburgh. Charles now sent back orders to Lord Strathallan to march from Perth with all speed, and join him in England with his whole force: but Strathallan was in no condition to move; for the Earl of Loudon and the Lord President Forbes were gathering

in great force in his rear—levies of Highland Whigs were coming down from the mountains—The Philistines were almost upon him—Glasgow, Paisley, Dumfries, nearly all the towns where there was trade or industry, were beginning to give alarming symptoms of loyalty to King George. The same demonstrations took place at Dundee; and Strathallan told the Pretender he could not move yet. It is said that M. de Boyer, who had accompanied him on his march into England, confidently declared that a French force would presently land; and that Charles himself proclamed with equal confidence that he was sure his old friends of Lancashire would join him as soon as he appeared among them. With these hopes, and with an army reduced to 4500 men, Charles renewed his march, leaving 200 men to garrison Carlisle. The Highlanders marched in two divisions: the first, consisting of six regiments of foot and the first troop of Horse Guards, and commanded by Lord George Murray, moved first, and marched to Penrith on the 21st of November; the second division, under the command of Charles, arrived at Penrith on the following day, and there occupied the quarters which the van and Lord George Murray had left. In the rear of this division were the cannon, guarded by Perth's regiment, the second troop of Horse Guards, and some other mounted gentlemen, whom it was a stretch of courtesy to call hussars. There was a short halt at Penrith, on account of a rumour that Wade was crossing the Westmoreland and Cumberland mountains to attack them in flank; but, as this intelligence was disproved, they pushed on by Shapp, Kendal, and Lancaster to Preston, where both columns met and rested on the 27th. The catastrophe in 1715, when MacIntosh and Forster laid down their arms before Generals Carpenter and Wills, had made a very deep impression on the Highlanders; and perhaps there were other traditions which pointed out that town as their *ne plus ultra*. It is at least certain that there was a general impression among them that they could not, or ought not, to venture farther into England than Preston. "Preston," says one of the Pretender's

officers, "was so fatal to the Scots, that they never could get beyond it; but Lord George Murray, in order to evade the *freet* (or superstition, which the Highlanders are full of), crossed the bridge immediately, and quartered a great many of the men on that side of the water; where they halted next day, expecting some intelligence, in which, it is to be presumed, they were disappointed."* Their march from Kendal had not been altogether undisturbed, for some of the Cumberland farmers, who had been robbed of their horses, being better mounted upon other steeds, followed the so-called hussars, dismounting some of them, and recovering their lost property. Wherever the young Pretender came he demanded the public money. From Preston the Highlanders marched to Wigan, where they arrived on the 28th, when a party of them went through Leigh, and what was called an *advance party* entered Manchester the same day. This advance party, according to all accounts, consisted of a serjeant, a drummer, and a drunken woman. "Manchester," says Ray, "was taken by a serjeant, a drum, and a woman, about two o'clock in the afternoon, who rode up to the Bull's Head on horses with hempen halters (a just emblem of what they deserved), where they dined; after dinner they beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty. They were likewise joined by several others, some of desperate fortunes, who were modelled into what they called the Manchester Regiment—mostly people of the lowest rank and the vilest principles; which occasioned him who called himself the Duke of Perth to say, that if the devil himself had come a recruiting, and proffered a shilling more than his prince, they would have preferred the former."† When all these roadside recruits had been joined to the Man-

* Account of the Young Pretender's operations, in Lockhart Papers.

† Lord Mahon has found in the State Paper Office, Scotland, several letters of secret intelligence written by a gentleman at Manchester to the Duke of Cumberland; and one of these letters completely agrees with the accounts given

chester men, the total number was about 200. This Manchester regiment was put under the command of Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of a very ancient family, and almost the only gentleman that joined in Lancashire. In the meantime Marshal Wade, with the Major-Generals Howard and Oglethorpe, and Brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, had marched as far as Hexham in the direction of Carlisle, where he arrived on the 17th, with a considerable body of Swiss troops for his van. Receiving intelligence there that Carlisle had surrendered, Wade had returned to Newcastle, where he arrived on the 22nd, with his forces much fatigued and distressed by inclement weather. But after a rest he again put himself in motion, and was now marching through Yorkshire to attack the Pretender in the rear. In the front lay the Duke of Cumberland at his head-quarters at Lichfield, and with an army that counted at least 5000 disciplined troops and from 2000 to 3000 militia and new levies; and behind the duke, between him and London, a third army was rapidly collecting on the borders of Hertfordshire and Middlesex. Nor was this all: the city of Chester, where there were many Catholics, who were all—somewhat unreasonably—expected to join the standard of rebellion, had been secured for government by the Earl of Cholmondeley, and put into a posture of defence in a surprisingly short time; while, still nearer to Manchester, the important town of Liverpool was secured by the magistrates, merchants, and other inhabitants, who showed as much spirit and resolution as the people of Manchester had shown indifference.

The wisest and even the most resolute of the Highland chiefs recommended an instant retreat. But the prince, who was quite certain of being joined by thousands as he approached the Trent, induced them to agree to go on as far as Derby. On the 1st of December they re-

by Ray and others of the mighty force that took for the Pretender the good town of Manchester.—*See Hist. Eng. from Peace of Utrecht.*

sumed their onward march, fording the Mersey near Stockport, and carrying the baggage and artillery across, lower down the river, at Cheedle, by means of a rude temporary bridge made of the trunks of trees. On the Cheshire bank they found assembled an enthusiastic old lady, and some few old Jacobite gentlemen; but no reinforcements, no insurgent bands of English, no money. On the same day on which he crossed the Mersey, Charles, with the main body of his army and all his artillery, entered Macclesfield, where they busily employed themselves in putting their fire-arms in order, as if they expected a battle. From the Cheshire bank of the Mersey Lord George Murray marched to Congleton with a strong body of horse and foot, and sent forward Colonel Kerr, who drove before him a small body of the Duke of Kingston's horse, who fled in the direction of the Trent, to which the Duke of Cumberland was now advancing. Kerr also seized "the famous Captain Weir, well known to all about court, and carried him to Congleton, from which he was sent to Prince Charles to be examined."* This Weir, who was reconnoitring for Cumberland, was threatened with the gallows as a spy, and thereupon it appears he revealed all he knew about the motions of the duke. This was, that his royal highness, deceived by Lord George Murray's side movement, had been led to believe that the Highlanders intended to get into Wales, and that the best thing he could do was to interpose between them and that country, where some hot-headed gentlemen were suspected of Jacobitism. And, in effect, Cumberland went on that wrong scent as far as Stone, thus leaving the London road as it were open to the Highlanders. Lord George Murray instantly turned off to the left, and gained the high road to Derby and the capital, at Ashburn. The other division of their army also made straight for Ashburn, and by the evening of Wednesday, the 4th of December, Charles, with his united and entire force, was at Derby. and some two days' march nearer to London

* Jacobite Account, in Lockhart Papers.

than his deceived opponent the Duke of Cumberland. The young Pretender took up his quarters at a house in the town belonging to the Earl of Exeter.* His artillery, consisting of thirteen pieces, was stationed upon Nun's Green; his troops were dispersed through the town, and amounted to nearly the number of the inhabitants. On inquiring for the Derby magistrates, they were told that they had all run away. They, however, afterwards seized upon Alderman Cooper, who was too lame to run, and forced him to proclaim the Pretender. Articles of dress were applied for, as being much wanted by the Highlanders, who had torn and worn their clothes in their rough progress, "and some they had with money, but more without."† They demanded the land-tax, excise, &c., and actually received about 2500*l.* They demanded also 100*l.* from the post-office, which was refused: they then reduced it to 50*l.*, and, not getting even that, they seized and took away a post-chaise. On the following day one Coppoch, whom the Chevalier had chosen to make Bishop of Carlisle, preached at All Saints Church, Derby; and the drummers and sergeants beat up for volunteers, offering five shillings in hand, and five guineas when they should arrive in London. Cook, an itinerant journeyman blacksmith; Edward Hewitt, a butcher, who had had a brother hanged; and James Sparks, a stocking-maker, took the five shillings and enlisted; and these were all the recruits Charles got at Derby.‡ Another council was held, apparently more stormy and discordant than that of the preceding night. The Highland chiefs insisted that they had shown no want of alacrity and daring—that they had already run hazards equal to their

* At the bottom of Full-street, Derby. The house is still standing, and belongs to and is occupied by Eaton Mousley, Esq.

† Bateman's Letter, in Hutton's Hist. of Derby.

‡ Of these Derby recruits Cook and Hewitt escaped when the game was up; but Sparks, the poor stocking-maker, was caught and hanged.

ardent love for the cause; but that now they could not in common sanity go farther, and that they ought not and could not lead the brave men who followed them to certain destruction. Lord George Murray, now the real commander-in-chief, and the man of most military ability and knowledge, agreed with the chiefs, and told Charles that, as there was no rising among the English, no sign of a descent from France, not one circumstance to encourage their going forward, they must retrace their steps and get across the borders while it was yet time; for, if the Duke of Cumberland should get between them and Scotland, and join Marshal Wade's army to his own, retreat would be impracticable. Murray also represented that, by going back instantly, they might greatly increase their force; for news had reached them that Lord John Drummond had landed at Montrose from France, with some picquets of the Irish brigade and some Scottish troops in the service of Louis XV.; and if Lord Strathallan could only keep his forces together at Perth, there was reason to hope that there would be 4000 brave men on foot to meet them on their return to the North. Lord George offered to occupy the post of danger, which, in a retreat, is in the rear. There are several discrepancies and contradictions in the contemporary accounts of these proceedings; but the majority of them agree in stating that Charles was much averse to the retreat; and hence occasion has been taken to commend his personal bravery at, as appears to us, the expense of his discretion or sanity. Nobody, however, seems to have reflected that he may have considered it as dangerous to go back as to go forward, or that cowardice itself is capable of desperation, or that it was not cool manly courage, but absolute madness to think of rejecting the strong arguments offered to him by Murray and the chiefs, who were, assuredly, no cowards themselves, no timid, cautious, formal campaign-makers, that could deem the capture of a town work enough for a season, and a retreat no disgrace, but as brave and daring men as ever drew sword in a desperate cause. And what had the young Pretender to

answer to the arguments they urged? Nothing—absolutely nothing but childish dreams and a trusting in chance, or, as he termed it, in Providence. The reasoning generally put into his mouth is no reasoning at all; and if he actually employed it to men of sense he must have excited their contempt or compassion. It is reported that the men in the ranks, or at least all the common Highlanders, were eager to go forward, and employed themselves while at Derby in taking the sacrament and sharpening their broadswords; but these poor mountaineers, who could speak no English, were probably ignorant of the intelligence that was familiar to their chiefs; they had seen no enemy since they had left Carlisle, and they may have fancied that they should see none between Derby and London. With all our high notion of their hardihood and daring, we cannot allow ourselves to believe that they could have been anxious to advance if they had known the real force of the several English armies, which by this time made in the aggregate upwards of 25,000 men. Under no circumstances, however, could the common Highlanders have been in a state to judge and decide; but among their leaders there were men of proper military judgment, and they were unanimous. It is said that Sir Thomas Sheridan, his tutor, and Murray of Broughton, his secretary, at length prevailed over the obstinacy or woful stupidity of Charles, and that he at last sullenly agreed to a retreat; saying, that in future he would summon no more councils—that he was accountable to nobody except to God and his father, and that he would no longer be advised by any man.

If Charles had stayed only two days longer at Derby, the Duke of Cumberland would have been upon him with a far superior force, with men very different from Cope's dragoons at Prestonpans — veterans who had fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who were devoted to their leader.

If Charles had meant to go on to London, he ought not to have rested a single day at Derby; for the Duke of Cumberland soon found out his mistake, and retraced

his steps: he was at Stafford on the 5th, with detachments at Burton-upon-Trent and at Lichfield; and, on the 6th, he had his head-quarters at Lichfield, whence he moved to cover the high road to the capital, and to take post at Northampton. Marshal Wade, on the 5th, was at Weatherby, with his horse and dragoons thrown forward to Doncaster. On the morning of the 6th, before daylight, the Highlanders began their retreat from Derby. Charles, who, during the advance, had generally walked on foot at the head of his men, now mounted on horseback, "for his spirit was heavy; he could not walk, and hardly stand, as was always the case with him when he was cruelly used."* The first night they got back to Ashburn; on Saturday, the 7th, they reached Leek, destroying in their passage whatever might be of use to the government troops, and resenting the disappointments they had met with, which provoked the country-people to do them all the mischief they could; and on Monday, the 9th, about the hour of noon, they re-entered Manchester, where the mob gave them some visible marks of their dislike. On the 8th, the Duke of Cumberland sent forward General Hawley, from Meriden Moor, near Coventry, with the dragoons and some mounted infantry, to try and harass the Highlanders in their retreat, and detached an aide-de-camp across the country with orders to Marshal Wade to hasten his march, so as to intercept them in their northern route. On Friday, the 6th, when the last news in London was that the young Pretender was at Derby, between the army of the Duke of Cumberland and the capital, there was a considerable panic in the city, and men feared the worst when the Highlanders were actually retreating. The consternation was so great, as to obtain for that day the name of "Black Friday." But, on the next day, news was received of their retreat, and, by the 9th, the alarm was entirely dissipated. Volunteers of all descriptions offered themselves to serve in the ranks; and the whole body of the law had formed themselves into a regiment, under the command

* John Hay's Account, in Home's Appendix.

of Lord Chief Justice Willes, and were to have done duty at St. James's, to guard the royal family, in case it had been necessary for the king to take the field with the army that lay encamped about Barnet and Finchley Common. Luckily that force was not required, and did little more than scare away the highwaymen from their usual beat. Weavers and other London artisans were probably not the best of troops, and it became the fashion to turn the Finchley camp and the march to Finchley into ridicule; but there were nevertheless some good regular troops on that point, both horse and foot, with thirty-two pieces of artillery; and the life guards and horse grenadiers were ready to march out from London at a moment's notice. As soon as the retreat of Charles was known, these regular troops, which, without the household corps, amounted to 3000 foot and 1000 horse, were marched from Finchley Common and Barnet to the coasts of Essex and Suffolk; and London and the neighbourhood was besides enabled to send 4000 foot and 1500 horse to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, to meet any attempt that might be made at invasion. If it had been necessary for the king to take the field, if the Highlanders had really given Cumberland the slip, it is quite certain that his majesty could have covered London with a regular army far superior in number to that of the Pretender; and we cannot think so lightly of the spirit of the English people, as to believe that the thronging thousands of volunteers and new recruits would have counted for nothing in a battle. As, however, the rumour still rang of an invasion, which France certainly never seriously entertained a notion of, his majesty notified to parliament that he had sent for 6000 more foreign troops—Hessians of good name and repute, that might serve in Scotland.

The young Pretender, meanwhile, continued his headlong retreat, apparently taking little or no charge of the army, riding on in the van on his black charger, getting gloomily into quarters every night as soon as he could, and leaving the rear to take care of itself. Having levied some heavy contributions from Manchester, which were

to be repaid when the country should be settled under his government, he left that city on the 10th of December, and hurried on to Wigan. On the next day, he and the Highlanders reached proud Preston, in the neighbourhood of which they were extremely apprehensive of some sudden attack. On the 13th, they were at Lancaster, where they threw open the gaols and committed other disorders. The discipline preserved on their advance, which, though not so perfect as described by some writers of Jacobite propensities, was still very remarkable for an army of Highlanders, disappeared on the retreat. "The meaner part of them pilfered and stole everything portable for their purpose; and their chiefs sent ruffians to plunder and extort money from gentlemen who had exerted themselves most against them."* This conduct excited the people against them; and the peasants of Lancashire and Cumberland ceased to have any awe of a flying army. Thus, when the Duke of Perth was sent in advance, with a party of hussars for his escort, to get across the borders, and, if possible, to bring up Lord John Drummond and his so-called French army, he was attacked, between Penrith and Kendal, by a party of the country-people, and forced to return to Charles, at Kendal, after losing several of his horses and horsemen. This was on the 14th; and, on the 15th, when Perth advanced again, with a greater force, to Penrith, the townsmen rose, and fell upon him with such fury, that he was again obliged to turn rein and fly. Several gentlemen and farmers of the neighbourhood mounted their horses and pursued Perth as far as Shapp, a little village between Penrith and Kendal; and that night beacon-fires were lighted on every hill-top to raise the country. The night of the 16th was spent by Charles and the whole rebel army in and about Shapp. Lord George Murray, who had charge of the rear and of all the baggage, found it extremely difficult to proceed over the mountains; for his carts broke down, his gun-carriages stuck in the ruts,

* Letter from a gentleman of Lancaster, in Ray's Complete History, &c.

and the horses were worn out. He was even compelled to throw a great deal of the powder into one of the mountain tarns, from want of means of transport. On the next day they pushed forward for Penrith with all their force, being watched by some troops of government light horse, who continued to hover on the heights. Old Marshal Wade was not quick enough for the rebels, and he made a bad guess as to the route they would take. When he got to Ferry-Bridge, he called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to march by Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, as the most likely way to intercept the Highlanders. But when he reached Wakefield he learned that they were already at Preston, and judging it impossible to come up with them with his fatigued infantry, he detached Major-General Oglethorpe with all his horse to look after the Pretender; and then, with the foot, turned back towards Newcastle. Oglethorpe and his horse marched one hundred miles in three days over ice and snow, and got to Preston on the 13th, not many hours after the Highlanders had left it. On the same day, the Duke of Cumberland, with part of his light horse, reached Preston also. On the 14th, Oglethorpe continued his pursuit at the heels of the Highlanders. On the 17th, when the mass of the Highlanders were near Penrith, both Cumberland and Oglethorpe arrived in considerable force of horse, and with the duke's thousand mounted foot, at Kendal. They had then good hopes of coming up with the enemy; but they were obliged to rest their men and horses that night, and during the night Charles rested at Penrith, where Lord George Murray strained every nerve to bring up the encumbered rear with all the baggage, &c. On the morrow, the 18th, Cumberland and Oglethorpe moved so early that their light horse came in sight of the Highland rear as it was toiling across Clifton Moor about three miles from Penrith: but the pursuers were too weak to attempt any important attack; and the Cumberland squires and farmers that were acting with them wheeled about when the clan of Glengarry set up a shout and threatened to

fall upon them. The baggage was sent forward to Penrith, with a small escort, and Lord George Murray turned aside to surprise Lowther Hall, the princely residence of Lord Lonsdale, with about 300 foot and a troop of horse. The mansion was easily taken by the rebels, and so was a running footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who told them that his royal highness had appointed to sleep at Lowther Hall that night, and was coming on with all possible speed with 4000 horse, and with some infantry following him. Lord George Murray then moved back to the village of Clifton, and sent notice to Charles, who was reviewing his men on the moor behind Penrith, but who soon detached some regiments to Clifton to reinforce Lord George. The day was now spent, but the moon arose in a clouded sky, and gave an occasional and fitful light. Murray in a short time discovered some of Cumberland's and Oglethorpe's horse, and part of the infantry that had now quitted the horses which had carried them forward so rapidly, stealing between the edges and stone walls, as if they hoped to take him by surprise. But Murray had already lined most of those hedges and walls; and, though the English troops came on with a great deal of bravery and resolution, they were checked by a most unexpected cross fire; and then Lord George, shouting, "Claymore! claymore!" rushed down with Clunie and the MacPhersons, and attacked them sword in hand. The English dragoons soon retired; Colonel Honeywood was wounded and left for dead; and the intended surprise ended in a complete discomfiture. "Night coming on," says one of the warm partisans, "put an end to the affair, and both parties retired—the Duke of Cumberland, it was said, towards Appleby, and the Highlanders to Penrith." Late at night as it was when the affair was over, Charles instantly resumed his march, leaving Clanronald's and Keppoch's regiments between Penrith and Clifton-bridge, to cover his retreat, or to make Cumberland believe that he intended to stay and fight the next day. The duke slept neither at Appleby nor in Lowther Hall, but was fain to take up

his lodgings with a loyal Quaker, whose house was close to the village of Clifton.*

The affair of Clifton Moor seems to have discouraged Cumberland's dragoons, who left off their close pursuit, and allowed the rebel army, rear, baggage, artillery, and all, to get to Carlisle without any disturbance. Even at Carlisle the rebels only rested part of a day and night, setting forward early on the morning of the 20th, and moving so rapidly that they crossed the deep river Esk that very night, and so got back to Scotland. To go the faster, and at the same time to improve the defences of Carlisle, where they changed their garrison, they left behind them there all their cannon except three, called the "Swedish pieces," all their cohorns, and a great deal of their baggage. Ray says that they chose rather to venture drowning than to stay to give Cumberland battle; and he adds that some of them were drowned in crossing the deep river. The duke was certainly not far behind them; for, while they were crossing the Esk, he advanced to within eight miles of Carlisle; and on the next day that place was invested by the king's troops, who were aided and assisted most zealously by the country people. As Cumberland had already begun to show the natural severity of his temper by hanging some prisoners and spies as soon as caught, few or none ventured to give any assistance or information to the beleaguered garrison, which consisted of some men from a regiment of Lowland Scots, a few Frenchmen and Irishmen, and the recently raised Manchester regiment: in all they were about four hundred unpractised soldiers, under the incompetent command of Mr. Townley and one Hamilton, who had formerly been steward to the Duke of Gordon. At first they seemed disposed to make a vigorous defence, firing their cannon on everybody that appeared; but they were astonished and palsied, as at the shock of an earthquake, when the duke began to reply to their 4 and 7 gun batteries with six 18-pounders; and on the morning of the 30th, when shot and shell were falling fast about

* The house of Thomas Savage, mentioned by Ray.

them, they hung out a white flag, and proposed to surrender. Cumberland told them that the only terms he could grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle were, that they should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure. And at three o'clock in the afternoon both town and castle were thrown open to Brigadier Bligh; the officers yielded themselves prisoners, and the men, piling their arms in the market-place, retired into the cathedral, where a strong guard was set upon them. The French part of the garrison was found to amount only to three officers and five men! Among the prisoners were seven that had deserted from Cope's army at Prestonpans, or had taken service with the Pretender after that catastrophe;—the duke hanged them instantly, together with four others of the same sort. Poor Thomas Coppoch, the young Pretender's intrusive Bishop of Carlisle, was also taken, and reserved for the gallows in another place. The duke, leaving the command to General Hawley, set out from Carlisle on the 3rd of January, to travel post back to London.

The 20th of December, when Charles recrossed the Scottish border, was his birth-day, but there was small time or means to celebrate it. It appears he expected that Lord John Drummond, with the army from Perth, would have crossed the Forth, and have been well advanced towards the borders to meet him; but there was no news of this reinforcement, and it was not found possible to keep together all the army that had been in England. As soon as they were on their own territory many of the Scots began to run home. Those that remained were, for convenience of quarters, divided into separate columns, and marched by different routes. Charles went with one of these divisions to the town of Annan, where he arrived that night; Lord George Murray went with another to Ecclesfechan; and Lord Elcho advanced with the horse to Dumfries. The point fixed for the re-union of the divisions was not Edinburgh, but Glasgow, where they all arrived by the 26th of December, Lord George Murray entering that town a day before Charles. The Duke of Perth was then sent to

hasten the march of his brother, Lord John Drummond; the rest remained seven or eight days in Glasgow, levying contributions and forcing the Whiggish and Presbyterian inhabitants of that thriving place to furnish shirts, coats, shoes, bonnets, and all that the Highlanders and their allies wanted. The king's troops, which had assembled in and about Stirling to guard the passage of the river Forth against the rebels collected at Perth, consisted of two regiments of foot and of the two regiments of dragoons (Hamilton's and Gardiner's) that had behaved so shamefully at Prestonpans, and they were backed by about 3000 volunteers from Glasgow, from Edinburgh, and from other places. During the same interval, or while Charles had been marching towards London, Lord Loudon had raised his little army in the north to more than 2000 men, who, when the money was spent with which government had furnished his lordship, were kept together through the credit and influence of the Lord President Forbes. On the other side Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, had raised a regiment for the Pretender, and several Jacobite gentlemen had made levies in Aberdeenshire, Angus, and other places in the low country of the North, in expectation of the arrival of Lord John Drummond with a great force from France. But Lord John had been very unfortunate at sea: more than half of his transports had been captured by the English cruisers, or driven back to Dunkirk; and when he landed in Scotland he had only his own regiment of foot, and that not complete, and two troops of horse from Fitz James's, or the Duke of Berwick's, regiment, a few companies of the Irish brigade, a very petty train of artillery, some arms, and a very little money. Lord Strathallan's head-quarters at Perth had been the scene of constant quarrel—the Highlanders and Lowlanders, the Irish troops and the French, all disagreeing in opinion, and indulging in old antipathies and prejudices. Though old Lovat had finally thrown the dice, and sent all the Frasers to Perth—though the MacIntoshes, the MacKenzies, the Farquharsons, and other clans had assembled there—it was

considered by Lord Strathallan and a council of officers, that the order received from Charles to march forward to the borders and advance into England could not be obeyed. Strathallan was supported in his opinion by all the Frenchmen, all the Irish, and most of the low country Jacobites; but the Highlanders declared that he ought not to examine and criticise, but obey the prince's order; and they were actually on the point of taking forced possession of Strathallan's money, arms, ammunition, and stores, when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth just in time to prevent a battle. Rollo announced that the young Pretender was in Scotland, was marching from Dumfries to Glasgow, and expected Lord Strathallan to hold himself with his forces in readiness to join him as soon as he should send further orders from Glasgow. The cause of the quarrel was thus removed, but not the bad blood which it had excited.

On the first news of Charles's return from England, the king's troops and the volunteers at Stirling fell back upon Edinburgh, not being strong enough to keep their ground on the river Forth, between two armies. Thus the passages of that river were again left open, and there was no obstruction whatever to the junction of the two armies of Charles and Strathallan. The spirit of the capital was good, but still liable to cold fits and ague-like attacks of fear and misgiving, until the second day of January, when two regiments of foot arrived from the south at Edinburgh, with news that General Hawley was following with nearly the whole force of Marshal Wade.

A.D. 1746.—On the same day the Highland army left Glasgow, and began their march towards Stirling, to meet Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond: they moved in two divisions, one led by Charles, marching by Kilsyth, and the other under the command of Lord George Murray, going by Cumbernauld. During their march they received certain accounts of the surrender of Carlisle from two gentlemen that had made their escape from that place. On the next day Charles took up his quarters in the house of Bannockburn, near Stirling, and his men were cantoned in the neighbouring

villages: Lord George Murray occupied the town of Falkirk, and threw out some of the clan regiments as an advanced post. Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond presently came up from Perth and joined; and then the Pretender's army amounted to 9000 men, by far the greatest number they had ever assembled. Yet, instead of wheeling round to meet Hawley, and to check the English troops that were constantly marching along the east coast from Berwick and Dunbar to Edinburgh—instead of attempting some bold and decisive blow—Charles and his officers resolved to sit down before Stirling Castle, which was exceedingly well provided, and sure to be well defended by the brave General Blakeney. With extreme difficulty they got their French artillery across the Forth, broke ground, and began the siege. Nothing could well be more absurd than this siege, except the method which Hawley took to raise it. That very confident English general reached Edinburgh on the 6th of January, breathing fire and destruction. He had seen some service both at home and abroad, having served as an officer of dragoons in the battle of Sheriffmuir, and having fought in Flanders under the Duke of Cumberland, who had favoured and promoted him. He appears to have been fitter for the post of provost-marshal and hangman than for that of general. He had scoffed most unmercifully at the sad failures of poor Sir John Cope, and had boasted in a company of officers, "that *he* knew the Highlanders, that they were good militia, but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons who attacked them well."* Hawley had now with him twelve old regiments of foot, who, for the most part, had served on the Continent, the Glasgow regiment of foot recently raised, and Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons. On the 13th of January he sent forward the dragoons, the Glasgow men, and six of his old regiments of foot towards Stirling, by Linlithgow and Borrowstonness, under the

* Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburn, who was one of the company of officers, told this anecdote to Home.

command of General Husk; on the 14th he sent forward his other six regiments; and upon the 16th he left Edinburgh himself, and encamped that evening with all his troops collected at Falkirk, only nine miles from Bannockburn, where Charles had now fixed himself with all his troops, except about a thousand men, left to carry on the siege of Stirling Castle. On the morning of the 17th Hawley was joined by Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and by 1000 Argyllshire Highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll. He was thus, even numerically, equal to the young Pretender, or nearly so, having between eight and nine thousand men. Between night and morning Charles's forces had advanced a little, and were now drawn up upon Pleanmuir, about two miles to the east of Bannockburn. The Torwood lay between the two armies, the whole of the intervening distance being about seven miles. It appears that the Highlanders expected Hawley would attack them, and that Hawley expected the Highlanders would run away at the mere fame of his approach. But the mountaineers had no such notion; and, seeing that Hawley was in no hurry to begin upon them, they determined to attack him. At about eleven o'clock in the forenoon a body of the rebels appeared upon the high road which traversed the Torwood and led from Stirling to Bannockburn and Falkirk, moving about with standards and colours to attract the attention of the English camp. Hawley was not at his post—he was refreshing his inward man with a good luncheon at Callender House, at some distance from the field;—but his officers and men fully expected that the Highlanders would attack them right in front from the quarter where they were showing themselves. But a little before one, Captain Teesdale, of the third regiment of foot, and another officer, climbed a tree, and with the aid of a telescope discovered the mass of the Highland army in full march, not by the high road through the centre of the Torwood, but by another road on the southern side of the Torwood. In fact, the Highlanders had already crossed the river Carron near Dunnipace, and were

pointing towards Falkirk Moor and some high ground on the left of the king's army. General Husk, the second in command, had been completely deceived by the demonstrations on the high road; but Hawley was so blind, or so absorbed by his good cheer, that he could not make out the design even when Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, of the third regiment, reported to him what Teesdale had seen from the tree: he said that the men might put on their accoutrements, but that there was no necessity for them to be under arms; and he continued where he was, feasting at Callender House. The officers on the field were heard saying to one another, "Where is the general? What shall be done? We have no orders." Warned, however, of the close approach of the rebels by some gentlemen well mounted, who attended the army and rode about to procure intelligence, the commanding-officers formed their regiments in the front of their camp; and then—when there was nothing but Falkirk Moor between the two armies—Hawley came galloping up with curses and confusion, and without his hat. In the middle, the rugged moor, covered with heath, rose to a considerable elevation, which it was the object of both armies to occupy first. Hawley threw forward his three regiments of dragoons, ordering the infantry to follow with fixed bayonets; and, on the other side, Lord George Murray threw forward his light-footed mountaineers. The English cavalry went considerably in advance of their infantry, spurring over the rough heath; and for a time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill. The Highland foot, however, outran the English horse, occupied the height, and formed along the ridge of it, while Hawley's men were compelled to halt a little below them, with a storm of wind and rain beating right in their eyes and wetting their muskets. The Highlanders formed in two lines: the first line consisted of the three MacDonald clans, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengary, who stood on the right; of the Farquharsons, the MacKenzies, and the MacIntoshes, who stood in the centre; and of

the MacPhersons, the Frasers, the Camerons, and the Stuarts, who occupied the left; their second line, including a considerable number of Lowland levies who were neither so fond of fighting nor so passionately attached to the cause as the mountaineers, comprised the Atholl brigade, Lord Ogilvie's regiment, Lord Lewis Gordon's two battalions, the MacLachlans, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. Charles was neither in the first line nor in the second; he stood not even *between* the two lines, as he had done at Prestonpans; but he took up his post in the rear of the second line, on a mound which still goes by the name of *Charlie's Hill*. When Hawley's men formed, the three regiments of dragoons were in front; the infantry which had followed them stood in two lines; and the rest of the army, consisting of the Argyllshire Highlanders and the Glasgow regiment, remained as a body of reserve at a considerable distance. Artillery there was none on either side, for the Highlanders, in their rapid advance, had left their guns behind them; and in crossing the moor the English guns had stuck fast in a bog and could not be removed in time. But Hawley heeded them not: he had got his horse and they were to do everything; though two of the three regiments had not yet cleansed their banners of the foul dirt of Prestonpans. On his word of command to charge, Colonel Ligonier led on all the horse towards the enemy's right. That right, consisting of the MacDonalds, advanced to meet Ligonier, reserving their fire till they were within pistol-shot; but then they gave such a volley as made the dragoons reel in their saddles; and, the rest of the Highland line stepping forward, Lord Lovat's regiment gave a similar discharge with equal effect. This was enough for the heroes of the "Canter of Colt Brigg;"—Hamilton's and Gardiner's regiments wheeled round, disordered the foot behind them, and fled with loose bridle. Cobham's dragoons behaved better; but the Highland fire was terrible, the ground was unfavourable for horse, and they wheeled to the right and went off between the two armies, receiving many a murderous shot as they passed the left

wing of the Highlanders. Many of the flying horse ran into the bogs, and, sinking to the saddle-girths, were cut to pieces by the Highland claymore. Some of the hot-headed clans continued to run into the bogs after the floundering dragoons, and some ran furiously upon the left of Hawley's army, who received them with a general discharge. But while the Highlanders had had the rain, which continued still to fall in torrents, at their backs, and the conveniency of their kilts and plaids wherewith to keep their pieces dry, the English infantry, with the rain full in their faces, and with no such convenient drapery, had got their muskets and powder-pans so wetted that hardly more than one piece in five went off. The MacDonalds, little hurt by this irregular fire, poured in a much more effective volley, and then, throwing down their muskets in their usual way, they fell upon the English infantry with their broad-swords, attacking them both in front and flank. The left gave way, the centre followed their example, and the second line as well as the first was thrown into confusion. It seemed a total rout, and Hawley, who had been standing a little behind the three regiments of dragoons when they advanced to the attack, had got involved in a crowd of flying horse, had been swept down the hill-side, and now had not the means of knowing whether any of his regiments of foot stood firm. But Burrell's regiment stood as firm as a wall, and, being joined by part of two other veteran regiments, it moved to the Highland left wing, and, when it came directly opposite to the Cameron and Stuart clans, it began to fire with good effect. A narrow ravine that lay between them prevented the Camerons and Stuarts from charging with the claymore, and, soon finding that they were losing a considerable number of men, and that their fire was not equal to that of the English veterans, they fell back from the opposite edge of the ravine in some disorder. Cobham's dragoons, who had soon rallied, now came up to support these gallant regiments of foot. In the meanwhile the fiery MacDonalds had broken loose and fought loosely in pursuit, as if the battle was over; but the steady fire

of Burrell's regiment, and other signs now seen in their rear, induced these MacDonalds to run speedily back to the ground which they had occupied at the beginning of the battle, and upon which Lord George Murray had been very anxious to keep them. But when they got there they found that their second line had vanished! The indiscipline of those Highlanders that formed the second line had been equal to that of the MacDonalds; —most of the men, seeing the wonderful success of the first onslaught, and being fearful that if they stayed where they were they should get no horses, saddles, and bridles—no part of the booty—had broken away from their lines to join in the pursuit, and when their comrades, who were more obedient to orders and remained on their ground, saw the Camerons and Stuarts repulsed, and heard the steady and increasing fire of the king's troops that stood, and saw Cobham's horse compact and firm, and ready, as they thought, to charge them in their loose and broken lines, they lost heart, and had gone off rapidly to the westward. Lord George Murray, however, succeeded in getting some of these men into line, and brought up some of his own men who had been cool enough to obey orders; and then Charles, who had moved off with the second line, came back with the Irish picquets and some other troops, and, when the Highlanders had collected their muskets which lay thick upon the ground, he led them to the brow of the hill. This movement of so considerable a body disconcerted Cobham's dragoons, who had been again attempting to cover the ridge: they turned back, went down to the place where Burrell's regiment and the portions of the two regiments acting with them were standing, and, retreating with them in good order, they joined the rest of the army, which had rallied on the ground in the front of their camp, except the heroes of the "Canter of Colt Brigg," who, for the most part, never drew rein till they got to Linlithgow.

This was the whole of the battle or affair of Falkirk, which did not last altogether half an hour. But it was now drawing near five o'clock of a wintry evening, and

the early darkness of the season was increased by the storm and the black rolling clouds, which continued to deluge that uncomfortable moor. Before it grew quite dark Hawley set fire to his tents, and marching through Falkirk, retreated for Linlithgow, leaving behind him bag and baggage, artillery, ammunition, and provisions. As for his tents, they were so soaked by the rain that they would not burn, and the Highlanders got possession of most of them also. Lord George Murray immediately advanced, and took possession of the abandoned town; and Charles entered Falkirk by torchlight, late in the evening, and was conducted to a lodging prepared for him. Hawley had left behind him between 300 and 400 killed and wounded, and a considerable number of prisoners, including many of the Glasgow regiment and the Edinburgh volunteers, who, on the whole, had behaved rather manfully. The poet Home was among the captives.

Having rested for the night at Linlithgow, Hawley continued his retreat to Edinburgh; but not till the 19th, and then, rather to dry his wet gunpowder, and get more, than out of any fear of Prince Charles. On his leaving Linlithgow, by accident or by design, fire was set to the palace, and that "royal dwelling"—"the fairest in all Scotland"—was reduced to a ruin. Charles was in no condition to follow or molest King George's army. On the morning after the battle thousands of his Highlanders went off to their mountains, to secure the plunder they had made; and violent dissensions broke out between Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond, and between several of the Highland chiefs. Some unlucky accidents and quarrels between clan and clan, which occurred in Falkirk the morning after the battle, greatly augmented the discontent and anarchy.

After staying two days at Falkirk, Charles returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray to observe the motions of the enemy, and cover the siege of Stirling Castle, which he was still resolved to prosecute. He employed a printing-press, which had been brought from Glasgow, to print a quarto sheet, with an exaggerated

account of the battle of Falkirk. This was the last of his gazettes, or proclamations. When Lord George Drummond summoned Stirling Castle, and threatened terrible things in case the surrender were any longer delayed, old General Blakeney answered as before—that he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and the rebels should find he would die so. Instead of destroying the old fortress, the besiegers seemed to run a chance of being destroyed by it. The Highlanders soon grew desperately weary of work for which they were unfit; and, on the 24th of January, after suffering severely from the hot and exact fire of the castle, they refused to man their batteries, or to go any more into the trenches; and the operations of the siege were then left to the picquets of the Irish brigade and Drummond's regiment from France, who had been better trained to such service.

The tragi-comedy, however, was now drawing rapidly to its close: the curtain was about to fall on the bloody field of Culloden. On the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., the Chevalier's loving cousin, William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, arrived in the Scottish capital, with full powers to finish the war in his own way.

On the 31st, the very day after his arrival, Cumberland put himself at the head of the army, to go in search of Charles. The men "banished all remembrances of the late untoward accident, and the troops showed uncommon ardour to be led (bad as the weather was) into the field again."* They were formed and marched in two columns, consisting of fourteen battalions; and the Argyllshire men and Cobham's dragoons led the van. Instead of sending Hawley to London, to be tried by a court-martial, as he most richly deserved, the Duke kept him with him as one of his lieutenant-generals, the other lieutenant-general being William Earl of Albemarle. He quartered that night at Linlithgow with eight battalions; Brigadier Mordaunt was at Borrowstonness; the dragoons lay in adjacent villages; and Colonel Campbell, with his

* Ray.

brave loyal Highlandmen, took post in the front of the army. A considerable body of Charles's army, that was still lying in that town, now immediately retired from Falkirk towards the Torwood, giving out that they would await the English there, or repeat upon them at Bannockburn the chastisement which the great Bruce had given their ancestors at the same place. The next morning the Duke continued his march, all his officers and soldiers showing the greatest alacrity; but before he reached Falkirk he was informed that Charles had no intention of meeting him at Bannockburn, the Torwood, or at any other place in the South; and that the Highlanders were actually repassing the Forth with headlong speed. As the English troops marched on, they saw the advanced guards retiring everywhere with the utmost precipitation; and presently they heard a most tremendous noise—two loud reports like the blowing up of powder-magazines. By this it was understood that the siege of Stirling Castle was raised, and that old Blakeney was safe.

Cumberland, who entered Stirling with the main body of his army at about one in the afternoon on the 2nd of February, or many hours after the last of the Highlanders had wetted their trews and their active limbs in the Forth at Frew, did not attempt a vain pursuit. He paid a fitting compliment to General Blakeney; he gave directions for repairing Stirling bridge, one of the arches of which had been blown up some time before by the garrison of the castle. While this work was performing a whole company of the Irish brigade, that had deserted from Lord John Drummond, came to Stirling and delivered themselves up; and a considerable number of the rebels, who had hid themselves in holes and corners, were brought prisoners to head-quarters. The repairs of Stirling bridge were finished by the 4th of February, and at six o'clock in the morning Cumberland and his army crossed the Forth. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyllshire men and the dragoons, marched that day as far as Crieff; but the Duke, and the main body of the infantry, halted in and about Dumblane, and passed the night there. On the following day the advanced-

guard took quiet possession of Perth, being welcomed as deliverers by the large majority of the townspeople. On the 6th the Duke of Cumberland, with the main body, reached Perth, where he remained several days.

While he was thus advancing in Scotland against the rebels there happened a ministerial revolution at London. The Duke of Newcastle and his more important brother, Mr. Pelham, who was prime minister, had both pledged themselves to Pitt to get him into office as secretary-at-war; and, urged on by the hot impatience of that able and aspiring man, and suspecting that the king, who had never withdrawn his confidence from Lord Granville (Carteret), was intending to place that ex-minister at the head of affairs, they demanded in a peremptory manner an office for Pitt. On the 6th of February Lord Bath (Pulteney) announced that the king would not employ Mr. Pitt as secretary-at-war—that he, himself, had advised his majesty to negative that appointment—and that if Mr. Pitt was forced into that office his majesty was fully resolved never to transact business with him or admit him to his presence. "The ministry," says Horace Walpole, "then gave up that point; but finding, that a change had been made in a scheme of foreign politics which they had laid before the king, and for which he had thanked them, and perceiving some symptoms of a resolution to dismiss them at the end of the session, they came to a sudden determination not to do Lord Granville's business by carrying the supplies, and then to be turned out: so on Monday morning, to the astonishment of everybody, the two secretaries of state threw up the seals, and the next day Mr. Pelham, with the rest of the treasury, the Duke of Bedford with the admiralty, Lord Gower, privy seal, and Lord Pembroke, groom of the stole, gave up too: the Dukes of Devonshire, Grafton, and Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, Winnington, paymaster, and almost all the other great officers and offices, declaring they would do the same. Lord Granville immediately received both seals, one for himself and the other to give to whom he pleased. Lord Bath was named first commissioner of the treasury and

chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Carlisle privy seal; and Lord Winchelsea reinstated in the admiralty. Thus far all went swimmingly; they had only forgot one little point, which was, to secure a majority in both Houses. In the Commons they unluckily found that they had no better man to take the lead than poor Sir John Rushout, for Sir John Barnard refused to be chancellor of the exchequer; so did Lord Chief Justice Willes to be lord chancellor; and the wildness of the scheme soon prevented others, who did not wish ill to Lord Granville, or well to the Pelhams, from giving in to it."* While this sudden and mad Granville ministry found that there was no chance of obtaining a majority in either House, and that courtiers and placemen were running a race to resign their white staves and golden keys, Hoppe, the Dutch ambassador, made matters worse by declaring that the States-General, which could have no confidence in such a cabinet, would be almost sure to accept terms offered by France, and leave England to manage the war without their alliance. Lord Bath, whose ambition and avarice were now counted equally great, had not courage to undertake the treasury, and on Wednesday morning he went to the king and told him he had tried the House of Commons and *found it would not do.* "The poor king," adds Walpole, "who, from being fatigued with the Duke of Newcastle, and sick of Pelham's timidity and compromises, had given in to this mad hurly-burly of alterations, was confounded with having floundered to no purpose, and to find himself more than ever in the power of men he hated, shut himself up in his closet, &c. At last he sent for Winnington, and told him he was the only honest man about him, and he should have the honour of the reconciliation, and sent him to Mr. Pelham to desire they would all return to their employments. Lord Granville is as jolly as ever; laughs and drinks, and owns it was mad, and owns he would do it again to-morrow."

But the Pelhams and their adherents, who had great advantages to secure to themselves from the false move

* Letter to Horace Mann.

he had made, would not return to their posts without driving a hard bargain with their perplexed and bewildered master. They demanded that Lord Bath should be removed from the cabinet, and that his few dependents who had places should be deprived of them; that Lord Barington and Mr. Legge should both have seats at the board of admiralty; that Mr. James Grenville should have a seat at the board of trade, and that Mr. Pitt should be in the war-office; and George, however unwilling, was obliged to accede to these demands—but mitigated in one essential; for, as he passionately declared that he would risk everything rather than make Pitt secretary-at-war, they agreed that, for the present, the terrible orator should be only joint vice-treasurer of Ireland; and *he* who had so often proclaimed that he would never accept anything less than the war secretaryship was fain to rest satisfied with this lucrative office.

The Duke of Cumberland, from Perth, detached, 500 foot and some Whig Highlanders to Dunkeld, under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew; sent forward Colonel Leighton with a similar detachment to Castle Menzies, and then continued his own march, with the main body, to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 26th of February. Scarcely a Highlander with the white cockade was seen anywhere; the rebel army seemed to have vanished into thin air; but here and there the Duke's exploring parties discovered and made prize of muskets, bayonets, ball, and gunpowder, hid among the mountain-heather or buried in the snow-heaps. It began to be generally believed, not only in London, but at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, that the war was over, that the young Pretender had fled back to France, and that the clans would not again attempt to make head anywhere. Nevertheless considerable reinforcements—including the 6000 Hessians—continued to be sent to Perth, or still farther to the north, to join the Duke. Meanwhile Charles had reached Inverness, which was in no disposition to bid him welcome. Lord Loudon lay there with a little army steady to King George, and protected from attack by a ditch and a pa-

lisade. The Chevalier therefore turned aside to Moy Castle, ten miles from the town of Inverness, and, while with only a few of his followers, Loudon *almost* succeeded in making him prisoner by a night attack. Yet, a day or two after this attempt, the Highlanders gathered in such numbers round him at Moy Castle that Charles felt himself strong enough to attack Loudon at Inverness; and on the 18th of February his lordship found it expedient to withdraw his men and to cross the ferry of Kessock into Ross-shire. The good lord president, Duncan Forbes, who had remained at his chosen post at Inverness, doing everything that man could do for a blundering and an ungrateful government, accompanied Loudon in this retreat, and shared in his subsequent hardships and dangers.

Upon Loudon's retreat into Ross-shire, the Chevalier entered the town of Inverness. Siege was laid to Fort George, which surrendered in two or three days; and from this exploit, which put them in possession of sixteen pieces of artillery and a considerable stock of provisions and ammunition, the Highlanders marched away thirty-two miles from Inverness, and laid siege to Fort Augustus, battering its walls with the heavy guns they had just taken at Fort George. In a very few days the flag of the Stuart floated over Fort Augustus. Locheil and General Stapleton were then sent, with the Camerons, the MacDonalds of Keppoch, the Stuarts of Appin, and 300 of the French-Irish picquets, towards the western end of the chain of forts, to lay siege to Fort William. But this enterprise was not destined to be so successful: the way was long, the roads and mountain-paths were steep and terrible; the heavy guns had, in many places, to be drawn by the men; and it was the 20th of March ere Stapleton and Locheil could get them placed in battery before the fort. But, in the mean time, while snow and ice impeded Cumberland's advance, and the cutting, cruel March winds, doubly cruel on that north-eastern coast, blew life and spirit out of the English troops (accustomed to the old routine of winter-quarters), the hardier Highlanders, indifferent to the inclemencies of the season,

carried on a series of attacks and expeditions. Loudon, with about 800 men, and Duncan Forbes, and MacLeod of MacLeod, quitted the main land, and went over to the Isle of Skye: the rest of his independent companies dispersed in different directions.

But, though the rebel clans had been thus allowed to make head, the king's troops were gradually closing upon them, and shutting them up within their hungry mountains, while the king's ships were intercepting the inadequate supplies sent from France. The Chevalier was again reduced almost to his last Louis-d'or, and compelled to pay his troops in oatmeal or barley-meal. As the weather became milder, the army of King George began to draw still more closely round the Highlanders; and they effectually closed the passes into the low country, where alone provisions and money could be obtained. As it was believed his royal highness would march very soon to attack Charles in his head-quarters at Inverness, all the detached corps of the Highlanders were called in and united on that point. Lord George Murray was thus compelled to give up his blockade of Blair Castle, and Locheil and Stapleton their siege of Fort William. Lord George carried his two light pieces back with him, but Stapleton found it necessary to spike his heavy guns. Cumberland had got up to Perth the 6000 Hessians, who, however, according to his own account, behaved sadly. Overwhelming as was his force, the Duke resolved to proceed with extreme caution. He waited till the southerly wind brought up to Aberdeen a fleet of transports with Bligh's regiment, forage, and provision. Then, upon the report of two officers that the river Spey was fordable, he put his troops in motion on the 7th of April; and on the next day he himself marched from Aberdeen with six battalions of foot and Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons. He kept to the sea-coast road, having his right flanked by the English fleet. All the Highlanders he could catch were hanged. Every day summary executions of this kind took place; so that Cumberland's line of march and his halting-places were to be traced by gibbets. He also set fire to the chapels of the

episcopalian Scots, who had always given unequivocal proofs of Jacobitism. From Banff Cumberland proceeded to Cullen, and from Cullen to Fochabers, on the right bank of the Spey, seldom losing sight of the men-of-war and transports. On Sunday, the 13th of April, the English and their allies advanced on the left bank of the Spey to the Muir of Alves, and encamped near the parish church. On Monday, the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, about seventeen miles from Alves. On coming up to the bridge of Nairn, this van found that Lord George Drummond's rear had not left the town, and there was a short skirmish with muskets on the bridge between Drummond's Irish picquets and the English grenadiers. When Lord John Drummond's men quitted the town of Nairn their retreat was covered by two troops of horse, and they ran as fast as their legs could carry them to a place called the Loch of the Clans, some five or six miles beyond Nairn. At that point the young Pretender very unexpectedly came up in person from Inverness with the clan MacIntosh and some of his guards; and then the English pursuers, seeing themselves outnumbered, fled in their turn, and hardly stopped till they rejoined the main body of the army. That night Charles took up his lodging in Culloden House, the seat of Duncan Forbes, his troops lying out upon the moor, where the heather served both for bedding and fuel, the cold being very severe.* Early on the following morning, the 15th of April, the Highlanders rose from their rough bed, and, expecting an attack, they formed in order of battle upon Drummossie Muir, a part of the Culloden plain, and about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden House. The gentle Lochcil, with the bold Camerons, had joined in the course of the preceding night; but Clunie, with the MacPhersons, was still away in Badenoch; Lord Cromartie, with about 700 men, and also MacKinnon, Glengyle, and Borisdale, with their clans, were still in Sutherland, where Duncan Forbes and

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, as cited by Lord Mahon.

Loudon had made work for them; and the Master of Lovat, with the Frasers, had gone up to his father's country. Yet it is said, notwithstanding all these deficiencies it was resolved *by*, or *for*, the Highlanders, that they should stand their ground, and seek rather than avoid an action. They kept looking across the moor in the expectation of seeing Cumberland's columns; but, when mid-day came and not a red coat was seen, Lord Elcho was detached with his troops of horse to reconnoitre. His lordship soon returned with intelligence that the English were halting at Nairn, and that, as it was the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day, the troops were keeping a feast and a holiday, drinking, and singing, and showing no intention of moving forward. The generality of accounts state the fact differently; but we believe that it was Elcho's intelligence which really induced the Highlanders to stay where they were, instead of falling back upon Inverness to strengthen themselves with the junction of Lord Cromartie, MacKinnon, Clunie, Fraser, and the rest; we believe that they were completely fascinated by the prospect of making a night surprise and attack upon a drunken camp—that, when this surprise failed, as it did, they stood and fought without their clans in the rear, because they could not avoid a battle, because the men, worn out with a long night march and counter-march, were too tired to run, and because a retreat, with the English now close at their heels, must have been more dangerous and bloody than even an unequal action. It is recorded that upon Lord Elcho's report a council of war was assembled; that there Charles made a speech, and proposed a march with all the forces he had with him, and to make a night attack; that Lord George Murray insisted and enlarged upon the advantages of a night attack, which would render artillery and cavalry—in which the superiority of Cumberland's arm chiefly consisted—of little service; and that it was fina agreed to make the attempt, as the best thing that cou be done in their present circumstances, as they were most entirely destitute both of money and provisio It is said, indeed, that on that day the poor Highland

got no other food than a single biscuit a man. To quiet their murmurs they had been promised payment of all their arrears two days before a battle; and now that they were drawn up in battle array there was not a farthing to give them. When the council of war rose, and the officers and chiefs returned to their regiments and clans, they found that many of their famishing men had gone off to Inverness in order to get something to eat. By this time it was between six and seven o'clock, and the army was appointed to march at eight. Many were of opinion that the hunger-defection ought to put an end to the design; but Charles, it appears, thought otherwise, and ordered Lord George Murray to put himself at the head of the men that remained and march upon Nairn with all the speed possible. "Accordingly," says one of the actors, "we set out about eight o'clock that night, with express orders to observe the profoundest silence in our march. Our word was, "King James the Eighth."

The river Nairn passes within half-a-mile of Drummossie Muir, where the Highlanders had been spending the day, and runs from that point directly east to the town of Nairn. The distance from the muir to the town was about twelve miles by the regular road; but considerably farther by the route which part of the Highland army was instructed to take—for Lord George Murray intended to divide his troops at Kilravock and to cross the river with the van some two or three miles above Nairn, in order to attack Cumberland both in flank and rear as well as in front. The whole army marched from Culloden in a long irregular line, with an interval in the middle, as if there had been two columns, one following the other. Lord George Murray was in the front with the Atholl brigade; Charles and the Duke of Perth were in the interval in the middle, and Lord John Drummond was in the rear. The night was very dark; yet, to avoid some houses on the highway, they quitted the road, and struck aside through some very wet and heavy ground, which retarded their march, and

caused the men, hungry and in a bad humour when they started, to murmur and to curse and swear. Those in the rear moved so slowly that they were left far behind. An officer forced his way to the front and ordered the van to halt; but the van would not halt, and the rear was left more and more behind. Other orders were sent to the front, and then Lord George Murray made his men go somewhat slower; but, as the rear moved slower still, they continued to lose time. It was now two o'clock in the morning. By this time most of the officers of distinction had got to the van, and, for the first time, there was a general and regular halt. Lord George himself says, "If all the line had marched as quickly as the four or five first regiments, they might all have been at or near Nairn by two in the morning; but even the van, as the thing happened, was four full miles from Nairn at two in the morning. . . . . At the halt, all the principal officers who were come to the van, agreed that the thing was now impossible. A surprise was designed, but now it was palpable they could not, even by a quick march, advance two miles before day-break, so that they must be for two miles in the enemies' sight before they could come at them: add to this that the officers were also convinced that they had not half of the men that had been drawn up the day before."* Lord George, on whose honour and veracity we are disposed to rely, says that Charles never came up to the front, but sent O'Sullivan with a message, importing that his royal highness would be very glad to have the attack made, but that Lord George was the best judge whether it could be made in time or not. Great pains have been taken to prove that the Chevalier was determined to make the attack, or, in other words, to prove that he was mad; and that Lord George Murray, in defiance of his authority, insisted upon returning. It scarcely worth examining whether the young Preten

* Letter from Lord G. Murray, calling himself de V lignie, to W. Hamilton, Esq., in Home's Appendix.

wanted to make a *night* attack, with such a force, in broad *daylight* or not. Lord George says distinctly that there was not one officer present but agreed that the best thing to do was to get back to Culloden as fast as possible. It is said, moreover, by Home himself—and the fact is exceedingly probable—that the Duke of Cumberland had certain information of this night march towards Nairn, from several people in his pay who spoke the Highland language, wore the Highland dress, mixed with the rebels as they marched, and stole away from them at different times—a thing easy to do in the darkness, and when so many were lying down from exhaustion in the wood or lagging behind. All accounts agree that the Highland army hurried back whence it had come, and that most of them were at or near Culloden by five in the morning. But the Duke of Cumberland, with his men fresh and vigorous, and well fed, was close behind them, having marched away from Nairn between four and five. Orders had been given for collecting some meat and drink on the field; but either the supply was insufficient, or did not arrive in time; for many of the Highlanders slipped off in search of food. Others, exhausted by hunger and want of sleep, fell upon the moor, as if careless whether the English dragoons rode over them or not.

In the meanwhile the English army was coming on with a broad front, divided into three columns of five battalions each, with the artillery and baggage following the first column on the right, which moved by the sea-coast, and with the cavalry covering the left wing, which stretched towards the hills. About eight o'clock a Cameron, one of Locheil's lieutenants, who had been left dead asleep in Kilravock wood, when the halt had been made, came running into Culloden House and informed Charles and his principal officers, who were taking a little rest in Duncan Forbes's mansion, that the English were in full march. Thereupon hurried orders were issued. The Highlanders formed in two lines with a body of reserve. Great discontent was given to one of the bravest and most powerful of the clans, whose superstitions were ex-

cited as much as their honour and pride were piqued.* Instead of the MacDonalds, who had enjoyed that honour ever since the days of Bruce and the battle of Bannockburn, the Atholl brigade had the right of the first line; in the centre stood the Camerons of Locheil, the Stuarts of Appin, the Frasers, the MacIntoshes, the MacLauchlans, the MacLeans, the Fergusons, and the Roy Stuarts; and on the extreme left were the MacDonalds, who formed three regiments under their respective chiefs, Clan-Ronald, Keppoch, and Glengary. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, and Lord John Drummond on the left. The second line consisted of Lord Ogilvie's regiment, which had the right of Lord Lewis Gordon's men, Glenbucket's regiment, the Duke of Perth's, Lord John Dummond's, and the Irish picquets, who stood on the extreme left. This second line was commanded by Stapleton. On the right of the first line, and somewhat behind it, were two or three troops of horse—nearly all that remained in the service, or that remained mounted, for the rapid marches and countermarches, the sad roads of the Highlands, and the sadder want of proper forage had knocked up all the rest of the horses. The body of reserve, in which Charles placed himself on a small eminence, behind the right of the second line, consisted of Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot-guards, and some two or three dozen of horse, the miserable remnant of Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Strathallan's cavalry. The right flank of the Highland army was covered by a strong stone wall. It appears that the Duke of Cumberland hardly expected that the Highlanders would stand for a battle; but he found them arranged in this order when he came up with them at about eleven o'clock. He halted within half a mile of their first line, and then formed his columns into lines of foot, with a morass on his right, between him the sea-shore, which secured that flank: he placed of his regiments of dragoons and four companies of gyllshire Highlanders on his left, to fall upon the enen

* Lockhart Papers.

right; and, in addition to his two lines, he formed a very strong body of reserve with the Duke of Kingston's horse, the rest of the Argyllshire foot, and two or three English regiments. The Scots Royals had the right of the first line, and Burrell's regiment, which had behaved so well at Falkirk, had the left of the foot. In the second line, which like the first, consisted of six full regiments, Howard's regiment had the right and Wolfe's the left. Ten pieces of well-served artillery were placed in the intervals between the regiments of the front line: the right flank was commanded by Major General Bland, the left by Lord Ancram, the centre by the Earl of Albemarle:—this was the front line. In the second line the Duke of Cumberland was on the right, and his favourite, General Hawley, on the left. While these dispositions were making, and each army was trying to outflank the other, there set in a heavy shower of rain, "which," says Volunteer Ray, "was very discouraging, remembering the Falkirk affair." But, this time, the English had the wind and rain in their backs, and the Highlanders in their faces.

When the English came within five or six hundred paces of the enemy they got upon soft and boggy ground, which was also calculated to revi[illegible] sant recollections; but, when the artillery [illegible] heavy guns stuck fast in the mire, the sol[illegible] fully slung their firelocks and dragged the c[illegible] the bog with the strength of their own arms. [illegible] was doing the weather grew fair, and the [illegible]rs from behind a strip of old wall, began to fi[illegible] their cannon. But their pieces were so badly s[illegible] and so badly pointed that they did no other mischief than carrying off the leg of a common soldier in Bligh's regiment. At about one o'clock Cumberland commenced replying to this cannonade; and, as his guns were exceedingly well served, they made a slaughter-house of the Highlanders' irregular and crazy battery, cutting at the same time lanes through some of the clan regiments. It was with extreme difficulty that Lord George Murray and his officers could keep their men in their positions to face

this murderous fire:—the Highlanders wanted to run, but forward, and not backward from the field; they wanted to take the cannon with the broadsword, as they had done at Prestonpans. The cannonade lasted nearly an hour, during which time Cumberland made several changes in the disposition of his army; the most important of which was bringing up Wolfe's regiment from the second line, where the men were standing in water up to their ankles, to the front line, and there placing them, *en potence*, or forward at a right angle from the left flank, so as to make a new front, and to fire upon the flank of the Highlanders if they should come forward in full force. The Duke then placed himself in the front of Howard's regiment between the two lines, and Colonel Belford, who had the charge of the artillery, threw some ball, so well that they broke ground in the midst of Charles's reserve, bespattered the Chevalier's face with dirt, and killed one of his attendants. Upon seeing that masses of the Highlanders were breaking from their centre and right to come forward, Belford, who had been using common cannon-ball, loaded his field-pieces with grape-shot. The clan MacIntosh came right on to the English centre, but the fire of the field-pieces and the small-arms of the 21st regiment made them incline to the right; other clans, however, advanced to their support; and then, in spite of grape-shot and musketry in front, and the flank fire from Wolfe's regiment, they fired their pieces, threw down their muskets, and attacked the English left, sword in hand, broke through Burrell's regiment in the first line, and pushed forward, through the gap they had made, upon the second line; but there they were checked by Sempill's regiment, which, kneeling down, reserved their fire till they came close up, and then, with their bayonets fixed, gave a terrible discharge, that brought a great many of them to the ground. Most of those who did not fall turned back after they had killed Lord Robert Kerr and some twenty men. A few of the most desperate still pressed on with their broadswords and targets to break into Sempill's regiment; but not a man of them could succeed; they all dropped at

the point of the well-directed bayonets.* It was calculated that from four to five hundred of them fell dead or desperately wounded betweem the two lines of the English army. This was, in fact, almost all the fighting; the rest of the operations at Culloden, and beyond it, were little more than pursuit, slaughter, and butchery. When the regiments on the right of the Highland first line made this attack, the regiments on the left of that line, the Fergusons and the three MacDonald clans, who thought that they ought to have been on the right, did not accompany the forward movement, but hung back till the MacIntoshes were goring themselves on the English bayonets. Then they came forward, gave a general discharge, threw down their muskets, and drew their claymores; but the grape-shot and the musket-shot, right in their teeth, made them pause, and, when the MacDonalds saw the MacIntoshes running back from the gap they had made, they also went off, pursued by some English dragoons. The Irish picquets in Charles's second line fired upon the dragoons, and made them either halt or wheel about. Through this timely check the MacDonalds, the Fergusons, and all that remained of the MacIntoshes, got back to the main body, which was now formed into one single line instead of two. But in another direction Cumberland's cavalry performed a more important service than the dragoons that had pursued the MacDonalds. General Hawley, with four companies of the Campbells of Argyllshire, had succeeded

* According to a letter published shortly after in the Scots Magazine, the Duke of Cumberland had made a sensible alteration in the mode of managing the bayonet against the Highlanders:—"before this the bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting him; now the left-hand bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting his right-hand man. He was then covered by the adversary's target where he was open on his left, and the adversary's right was open to him. This manner made an essential difference; staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told."

in breaking down the east wall of the inclosure, whose north wall covered the flank of the Highlanders; and through these apertures Lord Ancram led Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons, and some of Cobham's, and formed on the right flank of the rebels, a little behind them. With that mass of horse standing in that threatening position, and with the whole of the English infantry and artillery, and other clouds of cavalry coming on full in their front, the mountaineers lost heart completely, and began to go off the field in small parties, some with their chief and officers, and others without them. "At this sight," says Ray, who is an uncourteous critic of Charles's military conduct, but whose assertions are supported by every contemporary authority at all entitled to credit, "their mock prince wheeled off and fled; so that he had *then* the honour of being in the front, which held on with so much courage that he crossed the river at the nearest place, at the hazard of drowning, and never stopped nor looked behind him until he got to Lord Lovat's house, where he stayed all night." It is said, that Lord Elcho, before the bloody game was quite finished, rode up to Charles and implored him to head a general and desperate charge in person; that the Chevalier turned pale and refused; and that thereupon Elcho called him an Italian coward and scoundrel, and swore he would never serve him or speak to him again. The authority for the fact is Lord Elcho himself; and, though his lordship lived an exile for the Stuarts' cause, he would never again see Prince Charles.*

The fugitives went off in two large bodies: the larger one, consisting of western Highlanders, directing their flight towards Badenoch; the other, and much smaller one, consisting of the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish picquets, retreating to Inverness. The latter body suffered most, being pursued till within a mile of Inverness by the Duke of Cumberland's horse, who made few prisoners, but shot or cut down near every man or officer they overtook; for they had learn

* MS. Memoirs of Lord Elcho, as cited by Walter Scott

from their royal commander that rebels had no claim to mercy. Cumberland and the infantry followed leisurely towards Inverness. When near the town a drummer presented himself with a letter from the French officers, and Irish officers that had been in Louis's service, offering to surrender themselves prisoners to his highness, and invoking from the English generous quarter and honourable treatment. The Duke promised them quarter, and then sent forward a company of grenadiers who took possession of Inverness and of the arms which the French and Irish there laid down. It appears that the Highlanders lost three times more men in the retreat than in the battle, and that, altogether, there perished on that bloody day from 2000 to 2500 men. Many of their bravest chiefs were killed or miserably wounded on the field. MacLean of Drimnin, after losing two of his sons, was killed by a random shot while turning to look for his third son; Cameron of Lochiel fell wounded with grape-shot, but was carried off by two brothers between whom he was advancing. According to the official returns published by Cumberland and the government, the loss of the English in killed, wounded, and missing, officers and men, amounted only to 310. It is not easy to say what was the *exact* force engaged, but it may be fairly assumed that Cumberland had from 7000 to 8000 men, fresh and in excellent condition; while the Highlanders, with their allies, could not possibly have mustered 4000, and these, as we have seen, exhausted by hunger, incessant fatigue, and that fatal night march and counter-march which made their condition—bad enough before—all but hopeless. If *all* the Hessians had been up at Culloden, Cumberland's army would have exceeded 13,000 men! The carnage which had been committed, and which was still committing, by his moveable columns, his royal highness was pleased to style a "*little blood-letting*."* We can almost excuse

* Letters from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, in Coxe's Memoirs of the Pelham Administration.

his royal highness for thirsting for the blood of the doubly-damned traitor, Fraser of Lovat. Immediately after the battle of Culloden he wrote to ministers—"I believe old Lovat will not escape me." The Chevalier, as we have stated, fled straight from the field of Culloden to Lovat's house, and there he and the old fox met for the first and for the last time. They could only exchange mutual condolences. Lovat was then so old and infirm that he could neither ride nor walk, but he agreed with Locheil and other chiefs in recommending the prosecution of a mountain war, or at least the keeping together of the clans, so as to present a bold countenance to the enemy, and obtain honourable or merciful conditions. But the Chevalier's head was completely bewildered: his chief favourites and advisers were only anxious to get back to France; and, changing his dress, Charles stole away by night, and crossed the mountains to Invergarie, near Fort Augustus. Left to shift for himself, old Lovat put himself in a sort of hammock, and was carried away to a good hiding-place on the shoulders of some of his clan.

Lord George Murray had succeeded in rallying at Ruthven about 1200 of the fugitives from Culloden, and was sustained by the confident hope of collecting such an army as might face Cumberland again: but there was no corresponding spirit on the part of the Chevalier; there was no means of provisioning an army; and, instead of increasing, the body of 1200 men began to disperse. At Invergarie Charles himself became almost a solitary fugitive, and began to trust to holes in the rocks and other hiding-places for his safety. All his company took leave of him except O'Sullivan, O'Neile, and one Burke, a common servant, who knew the country well, and was kept as a guide. With this slight attenda Charles stole secretly from Invergarie to Loch Arkaig Lochaber, and then to Glenboisdale, where he lurke day or two, and where he received a message from L George Murray, entreating him not to leave Scot just yet. The Chevalier replied to Lord George tha must go to France, but that he *hoped* to return soon

powerful reinforcements, which he was quite sure of obtaining. But to embark was no such easy matter; the English cruisers continued to do their duty well, and no French ship appeared to take off the forlorn adventurer.

The Duke of Cumberland advanced to the smoking ruins of Fort Augustus, and established himself there in the very centre of the rebellious districts, sending out parties in all directions to scourge the land, to cut off every Highlander found in arms, and to track them to their hiding-places in their glens and mountains. In a short time all the gaols were crammed, notwithstanding a great number being shipped off for Newcastle; and more were killed or starved than were made prisoners. Every encouragement was given to the fierce passions of the Argyllshiremen and the other Whig clans or hereditary enemies of the Jacobite Highlanders; and the worst rabble of the regular army were let loose to plunder and destroy. In many places the dispersed clans were hunted down like wild beasts—tracked to their dens and holes in the hill sides, and either burnt or smothered by combustible materials lighted at the mouths of those crannies, or compelled to come out to fall upon the bayonets and swords of their pursuers. These men were not likely to make a distinction which their royal leader could not or would not make: the Duke had declared that bloodletting was the best remedy, that every man that wore the tartan in those parts was a rebel and traitor, whose body, soul, and goods were forfeited;—and so the soldiers slashed and plundered wherever they came, without any attention to guilt or innocence, or to degrees of guilt or degrees of misfortune. In many places they swept the country so bare of everything, that the inhabitants were left to perish with hunger on the hill sides; and, if tradition is to be credited, there were not wanting cases where the horrors of hunger led to the atrocities of cannibalism. As a last touch to the horrible picture, we may mention what is asserted on indisputable authority, that the Highland women were subjected to the last indignity and brutality; that their children were frequently shot, stabbed, or thrown over the rocks; and that

it became a common spectacle to see men, women, and children, frantic with hunger, following in the track of the plunderers, and imploring for the blood and offal of their own black cattle, carried off and slaughtered for the use of the Duke of Cumberland's army. The hangman Hawley distinguished himself in this war of extermination, which lasted without check or pause till the month of July, when his royal highness repaired to London to claim and wear his sullied laurels. He left behind him in Scotland the name of *the Butcher*, and the people of England, disgusted sooner than any other with cruelty, confirmed this title to the hero of Culloden.*

But the British parliament set hardly any limits to their admiration, gratitude, or generosity. No less a sum than 25,000*l.* per annum, payable out of the duties and revenues composing the aggregate fund, was added to the duke's income of 15,000*l.*, payable out of the civil list. Out of doors this reward seemed sufficiently high, but within doors it was not opposed by a single voice. The patriot Pitt, who was now half a deputy treasurer for Ireland, was himself ready to propose this large annual grant; but the Duke of Cumberland thought that the proposition would come better from the first minister, and so Mr. Pelham made it. The gratitude of the parliament and cabinet seemed to begin and end with his royal highness. On the very day on which 25,000*l.* a-year were proposed for the Duke of Cumberland, we find Duncan Forbes, the lord president, begging and entreating for 1500*l.*, not as a pension to himself, not as a reward for his invaluable services, but to enable him to make payment of sums of money he had borrowed for the service of government. "Above nine months ago," says this able and excellent man, "my zeal led me into this north country to quench a very furious rebellion.

* "The king," says Horace Walpole, "is much inclined to some mercy; but the duke, who has not so much of Cæsar after a victory as in gaining it, *is for the utmost severity.* It was lately proposed in the city to present him with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, 'Then let it be of the *Butchers.*'"—*Letter to Mann.*

without arms, without money, without credit; and if the king's enemies are to be credited, my endeavours were attended with some success."* But it was in vain that Duncan Forbes wrote, and his friends and the friends of justice represented his case to a most corrupt, jobbing, and selfish ministry. The amount of his services was known to most men, and it was equally notorious that he had not only begged and borrowed, but that he had expended three years' rent of his own estates in the public cause. He had also exposed himself to more personal danger, and, though a judge, a man of the pen, a quiet domestic man, had undergone far more fatigue, than any general engaged in his majesty's service in Scotland. All this, we say, and more than this, must have been known to ministers, and yet the government, of which the *magnanimous* Pitt was a member, not only left his merit unrewarded, but absolutely failed to pay him either the money he had spent out of his own private fortune or the debts he had contracted. The blood turns back cold to the heart in contemplating this base example of national or rather ministerial ingratitude. All these things, together with other unutterable wrongs, depressed the spirits and broke the health of the good old man, and he died not long after, at Edinburgh (on the 10th of December, 1747), in the sixty-third year of his age, complaining on his death-bed of his reduced fortune and of "the oppression of power," and advising his son never to think of getting into parliament.† His ample fortune was, indeed, left in a state of such embarrassment, that the best friends of his family saw no prospect of relief, but in saving one of his estates by selling the other and employing the proceeds in discharging the debts he had contracted.

While the Duke of Cumberland was being welcomed into London with illuminations and sky-rockets, his cousin Charles was wandering from place to place in the most wretched condition, and making himself again interesting, not by his own heroism and address, but by the bravery, exquisite fidelity, and promptitude of others.

* Culloden Papers. † Ibid.

This course of life lasted five long months, from April to September; and during all that time not one of the hundreds of poor people he was obliged to trust could be induced to betray him, even by the government offer of thirty thousand pounds. Charles, after hiding for a day or two in Glenboisdale, went to Borradale, the place where he landed on his first fatal coming to our island: MacDonald of Borradale procured him an open boat, with eight oars, at Lochnanuagh, and there Charles embarked, on the evening of the 26th of April, for the Long Island, where he expected to find a French vessel. He was still accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Burke. After encountering a terrific storm and a dark night the party landed in Benbecula, on the Long Island, a solitary spot wholly destitute of the means of sustaining life. They had brought nothing with them but four pecks of oatmeal, and upon this and the water of a brook they were obliged to subsist for two days during which the storm raged. When they put to sea again they were driven from their course by another tempest which blew them into the small island of Glas. Here they were received by a farmer or tacksman, who lent one of the party a boat to proceed to the island of Lewis, where a small trading or fishing vessel was lying. Donald MacLeod got safe to Lewis, hired the little vessel, and sent notice to Charles that he had done so; but when the Chevalier got to the port of Lewis he found that the master of the vessel had discovered who he was, and would not stand to his bargain or take him aboard on any account. Charles and his companions in suffering then returned to the open boat which had brought them from Lochnanuagh, and put to sea, uncertain whither they should go. They had not gone far from Lewis when they saw two men-of-war under sail in the distance, and, taking these ships for English, they put about their helm and ran for the nearest shore, which was a small island to the southward called Issurt. This was a most unhappy mistake—the continuance of an unfortunate move; for the ships were in fact two French frigates which had come over with some money, ammunition, and arms, and

which had put into Lochnanuagh only a few hours after Charles had left that place. When the two ships were out of sight he crept along the shores of Issurt and Harris: but here was a fresh alarm!—an English sloop-of-war lying in a harbour on that coast spied his boat; but, before she could get out, his boatmen pulled away and got into a small creek on the coast of North Uist. There the party lay hid for many days supporting life with some dried fish which they found in a lone hut. About the middle of May they put to sea again and made the island of South Uist, where the chief or proprietor of the greater part of the island—MacDonald of Clanronald—comforted and restored the royal fugitive, whose health and spirits were breaking, with Spanish wine and proper food, and gave him shoes and stockings—for the last of the Stuarts was almost bare-foot. But his humiliations were not over, and it remained for the young hero, who had come with oaths to conquer or die, to cover his manhood with woman's clothes, and to follow in the train of a young lady as a waiting-woman. General Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll, had a commission to search the islands and secure the fugitives and the disaffected. With a considerable number of men, and several ships of war and transports, Campbell came to Barra, where he made many prisoners; from Barra he sailed to St. Kilda, and from St. Kilda he returned to Barra, with the determination of going to South Uist and searching the island from end to end. And, early in June, South Uist was surrounded on every side by ships and boats, while companies of soldiers were put on shore to scour the interior and search every house, cavern, nook, and corner of the island. But Clanronald had pledged his faith, and the islanders were resolute to respect the sacred rights of hospitality and misfortune; and, by a combination of ingenuity, activity, and vigilance, which must have been incessant, and exercised at one time or other by nearly every man, woman, and child in the place, they contrived to delude the troops and to conceal their guest from the first to the last week of June, when the generous Flora MacDonald undertook to carry Charles to a safer place,

and procure the means for so doing. This young lady, the daughter of MacDonald of Milton, in the isle of South Uist, was nearly related to the Chevalier's host Clanronald, and was on a visit at his house. She was distressed day after day by seeing the danger the Chevalier was running, and by hearing accounts of his distressed condition from his constant attendant O'Neil, who visited the house clandestinely for food and advice. She expressed an earnest desire to see the prince in person, and declared that, if she could in any way save him from his enemies, she would do it. Upon this O'Neil ventured to propose that she should take Charles, dressed in woman's clothes, as her maid, and conduct him out of South Uist to Skye. At first Flora MacDonald thought the scheme fantastical and dangerous, and positively declined it; but soon after this conversation means were found to introduce to her, at a solitary farm-house, the prince in person, and then his sad condition, his thin and wasted habit of body, and his arguments, went to her heart, and removed all scruples; and she went forthwith from this interview to put the scheme into execution. Nobody could possibly leave the island or escape the cruisers' row-boats and guards without a passport. Flora asked and obtained from her stepfather Hugh MacDonald, who commanded part of the troops assembled in South Uist, a pass for herself and her lady's-maid Betty Burke; and she further induced the captain to recommend to his wife, residing in the isle of Skye, the said Betty as an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant. We are following Flora MacDonald'sown account of the transaction, which is believed to have been written or dictated by herself.* It is said there, or rather it is left to be inferred, that her stepfather was not admitted into the dangerous secret, but deceived by Flora's ingenuity; but neither Captain Hugh MacDonald nor other MacDonalds in South Uist and in Skye were really imposed upon by the young lady. Having obtained the passport, a boat,

* Narrative of Flora MacDonald, giving an account of her interviews with Charles, &c., in Home's Appendix.

six boatmen, and some provisions, and sent a dress to Charles, she walked along the sea-shore with Lady Clanronald and met the proscribed Stuart in his female attire. On the following morning, the weather being calm and serene, Charles, Flora, and the six boatmen set out for Skye. The generous lady and her maid, the prince, landed safe at Mugstole, the seat of the MacDonalds, where Lady Margaret MacDonald was then residing. This lady, who, like her husband Sir Alexander, had once been a Jacobite of the deepest hue, gave the lady and her mock maid a good dinner, and, as her house was open to the visits of officers and troops, she sent them forward to her kinsman and factor MacDonald of Kingsburgh, more in the interior of the island. Near to this house the Chevalier put on a Highland dress, and then Flora left him to the care of Kingsburgh, and went home to her stepfather's house.

The day after his arrival at Kingsburgh's House in Skye, the Chevalier left that island and went over to the small island of Rasay, which was only six miles off. The chief, MacLeod of Rasay, who had fought for the Pretender both at Falkirk and at Culloden, was lying hid somewhere on the mainland, but his sons were at home, and they accommodated Charles in a cow-shed. They had no better lodging to give him—there was nothing better left on the island; for a detachment of King George's army had been there a few days before with fire and sword, had carried off all the cattle, and burnt every house in Rasay. While the Chevalier was lying pinched with hunger in the cow-shed at Rasay, his generous deliverer Flora MacDonald was apprehended by some of the militia in Skye, put on board a king's ship, and carried as a prisoner and a dangerous rebel to London. Her secret had been forced from the poor boatmen who had ferried her and Charles from South Uist. Kingsburgh also was laid in durance and threatened with nothing less than death. In the state in which matters now were, the wisest and best thing to do was to scare the wretched fugitive back to France — to permit and connive at Charles's escape. George II. was not a bloodthirsty

prince, and even if his nature had been more severe he would not have chosen to draw down upon himself the odium of Europe and the criticism of every civilized court, by putting to death as a felon and traitor the descendant of many kings. To have kept Charles as a state-prisoner either in Scotland or England, or even in the American plantations, would have been very troublesome, and might have proved exceedingly dangerous. For the safety, for the honour of the House of Brunswick, it was better to let him go than to catch him; and we cannot help believing that this was the opinion of a considerable portion of the English cabinet, and of not a few of the officers that were serving in Scotland.*

After staying some days with the sons of MacLeod of Rasay, the Chevalier returned to the Isle of Skye,—not to the bounds of the MacDonalds, but to those of MacKinnon of MacKinnon, who had sent his clan to join the rebel army. The MacKinnons received him with great kindness, procured him a boat, and carried him to Lochnevis, on the main land about twelve miles from Borradale. Here he learned that there were lines of troops with sentinels so placed as to watch every road, every path, by night as well as by day, having fires lighted on the hills at regular distances.

But some of the MacDonalds of Glenaladale smuggled him through a gulley or narrow channel worn by a mountain stream among the rocks; and after crossing the line of posts, they resolved to conduct him out of the Western Highlands right into the Ross-shire Highlands, and lodge him among the MacKenzies, who had remained during the war on the side of King George, and were therefore not scourged with the visitations of troops now. The chief of Glenaladale thought that of the MacKenzies would not betray the helpless fugitive, and the

In a letter dated the 18th of May, or just a month a the battle of Culloden, Horace Walpole says, "The Prete der is not openly taken, but many people think he is in th power; however, *I dare say he will be allowed to escape;* some French ships are hovering about the coast to rec him."

notwithstanding their exceeding loyalty to the established government, they would assist in the escape of the son of their old kings. Accordingly Charles and Glenaladale, with two or three attendants, set out on foot for Ross-shire. The journey was long and rough. When they came to the braes of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraws, the most barbarous of the Highland clans, they were likely to perish for want of food, and were apparently saved only by the timely arrival of another fugitive—a MacDonald—who had fought for Charles at Culloden, from being seized and delivered up; for a Macraw, with whom they had taken up their lodging, exclaimed against the Highlanders who had been in arms, saying that they and those who still protected the young Pretender were fools and madmen, and that they ought to relieve themselves and their country by giving him up, and taking the large reward which government had offered. This new MacDonald, who knew the Chevalier at first sight, was of still further service; for he warned him that some troops had got even into Ross-shire, and he told him of a much safer hiding-place, where he himself had passed the preceding night. This was a cave of the rock in the great mountain of Corado, which lies between Kintail and Glenmoriston. "There," said this MacDonald, "live seven men upon whom the prince may absolutely depend; for they are brave and faithful, and most of them have been in his army." Charles and his companions put themselves under the guidance of this MacDonald, who conducted them to the wildest and most craggy part of the mountain, and into the secret care, where they found six of the seven men assembled at dinner upon a sheep which they had *lifted* that very day. The dwellers in the cave were, in fact, what would have been called in other countries freebooters, brigands, or banditti; but whether they had adopted that course of life recently under the pressure of their difficulties, or whether they were veterans in the profession, is not mentioned.

The seven men of the cave fell upon their knees, for some of them knew the person of the prince in spite of his sad and ragged condition. With such hosts his toilet

was soon improved and his diet also. The seven brethren *lifted* some clean linen, by stopping the servants of some English officers who were following their masters from Fort Augustus to Strathglas with their portmanteaux. Food was seized in an equal unceremonious manner, and some comparative delicacies were bought at Fort Augustus, under the beard of Cumberland's officers and executioners. That fort was not above eight miles from the cave. Charles stayed in the cave with the freebooters five weeks and three days; but then he began to long for better company, and instructed Glenaladale to find out some neighbouring gentleman with whom he might trust himself. The seven conjured Glenaladale to dissuade the prince from this purpose, saying, that no reward could possibly tempt them: for, if they betrayed the prince, they must fly their country, as nobody would speak to them except to curse them; whereas 30,000*l.* was a great reward for a poor Highland gentleman, who could go away to Edinburgh or London with his money, where his treachery would be unnoticed, and where he would find people enough to eat his meat and drink his wine, and live with him as his friends.* Peter Grant, however, one of the seven, submitted to royal orders, and went into Lochaber to find out some gentlemen of the name of Cameron. The first Cameron he met was the brave chief, Cameron of Clunes, who sent Peter back to the cave to assure the prince that he would meet him at the head of Glencoich, where he, Clunes, had a little hut in a secret place. Charles instantly left the cave and travelled along the tops of the mountains in a very stormy night; but, as he thought it necessary to lie concealed by day, he did not reach Glencoich and the little hut at the time appointed, and when he got there he found neither the chief nor food to eat. Peter Grant, however, supplied both these deficiencies: he killed a deer, and found out Clun again, who forthwith came to the hut with his three son The chief informed Charles, who wanted to get Badenoch, where the gentle Lochiel and Clunie w

* Home.

lurking, that the troops and scouts of government were exceedingly numerous, and that all the ferries of the rivers and lochs were so strictly guarded that such a journey was, for the present, impossible. It was, therefore, resolved to keep close for a time in or about the little hut in Glencoich. They were in this situation when MacDonald of Lochgary and Dr. Cameron, Lochiel's own brother, penetrated into the district in search of the prince; for Lochiel and Clunie had both concluded that he must be somewhere to the north of the lakes. These two gentlemen found out Charles, and, after many more dangers and hardships, they succeeded in carrying him into Badenoch, where, at a place called Mellanauir, he met Lochiel and Clunie.* The gentle Lochiel was still lame, and suffering from the wounds he had received in the battle of Culloden. After staying a day or two in a hut called Uiskchibra, the two chiefs carried the prince to a still better hiding-place in the great mountain of Benaldar, which Clunie had fitted up some months before for his own use and that of his wounded friend. It was very appropriately called "the Cage."

"The Cage," says Clunie, "was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."† Here the party remained caged till the 13th of September, when a message arrived from Cameron of Clunes, to inform Charles that two French frigates had put into Lochnanuagh, and were waiting there to carry him and his friends off. The Chevalier set out immediately, but as he travelled only by night he did not arrive at the port till the 19th. Other messages had warned other gentlemen lying in concealment up and down the country; and besides Lochiel, Clunie, and Colonel Roy Stuart, about

* Clunie's account of Lochiel and himself, after the battle of Culloden, &c., in Home's Appendix. The original of this paper, *dictated* by the chief, together with other MSS. and letters relating to the Highland war, was put into Home's hands by Clunie's son and successor.

† Clunie's own account, in Home's Appendix.

one hundred embarked with Charles on the 20th of September at Lochnanuagh, the very spot where he had landed fourteen months before. He disembarked at a little port near Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September, and thence proceeded to Paris.

But, before this time, many of those who had ventured for him had been hanged and beheaded, with the usual and revolting accompaniments of drawing and quartering; and while Charles was showing his face in the French opera, the heads of braver and better men were exhibited at Temple Bar, on the walls of Carlisle, York, and other places.

If there had been no glory, nothing at all striking or romantic, in the war which put an end to the rebellion, there was no mercy, no generosity in princely bosoms after the victory; and statesmen and judges seemed but too well disposed to make the law as sharp as Cumberland's sword. It was to be hoped that, in the course of thirty years, the nation would be found to have advanced in humanity; but the severities exercised now were greater than those which had been exercised against the Scotch rebels in 1715—far greater, and less necessary. The Duke of Cumberland continued to be "*for the utmost severity*." Both in Scotland and in England numerous prisons were crowded with victims, and for some time vast numbers were lodged in the holds of ships of war and transports—packed, huddled together, like Africans on board slave-ships. Hence arose, in many cases, fevers and diseases, which robbed the gibbets of their prey, and which did not always respect the government soldiers and sailors, but carried off the victors as well as the vanquished, the gaolers as well as the captives. In Carlisle there were nearly 400 unfortunate Scots crowded into a place not large enough for forty; but the common men were allowed to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, and the rest to be transported to our West Indian plantations without any trial. In defiance of the recognised rights of the courts of Scotland, and in open contravention of articles in the Act of Union, the Scottish prisoners were all removed for tri

to England, out of dread of the partiality or compassion of their countrymen. After the rebellion of 1715 an English prelate—the Bishop of Carlisle of those days—had lamented that the lenity of government "gave occasion for seditious insinuations, as if only a few beggars were to be sacrificed for the transgression of their lairds." There was scarcely any ground for such a complaint now, for lords, and lairds, and gentlemen, both English and Scotch, were executed in plenty. One of the first that suffered was Francis Townley, the colonel of the Manchester regiment. He was hanged on Kennington Common, had his bowels torn out, and his heart cast into a fire; and eight of his officers and men were treated in the same manner at the same place. Similar executions took place at York, Brampton, and Penrith; and about eighty ghastly heads were kept and exhibited in different parts of the North, as if to drive back the people towards their ancient barbarity. Charles Radcliffe, brother to the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater who had suffered in 1716, had escaped the block then by breaking out of prison; but now he had been lately captured on board a French vessel carrying arms and supplies to the young Pretender in Scotland, and he was put to death without any fresh trial, but upon his former sentence, passed thirty years ago. He died with the greatest fortitude upon Tower Hill, and his headless body was interred near the headless body of his brother in St. Giles's church. Elcho and many of the lords and gentlemen had escaped to the Continent (the Duke of Perth had died at sea on his passage), but Cumberland's detachments caught and made fast the Earl of Cromartie and his son Lord MacLeod, Lord Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, Lord Mordington, Sir Archibald Primrose, and several other persons of distinction; and, last of all, old Lord Lovat, who, after many escapes, was found concealed in a hollow tree in one of the wildest parts of the Highlands. Parliament had passed an act for attainting all that had escaped, and that did not surrender themselves before the 12th of July. The list was long, and included some of the highest names in Scotland, and

nearly all the great Highland chiefs. On the 28th of July the Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, who claimed their privileges, were brought before the peers in Westminster Hall, where the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who had been appointed lord high steward, presided. The scene was solemn and grand. Cromartie, a timid man, shed tears; and the other earl, Kilmarnock, though behaving with more dignity, pleaded guilty, as did Cromartie, both expressing remorse for their past conduct; but old Lord Balmerino, the hero of the party, pleaded not guilty, and took exceptions to the indictment. "He is," says Walpole, "the most natural brave old fellow I ever saw: the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour." While the peers were withdrawn to their own chamber, previous to delivering their verdict, Murray, the solicitor-general (afterwards Lord Mansfield), asked Balmerino why he had put in a plea which his solicitor had previously informed him could be of no use? The old Scot, who was witty as well as brave, asked the bystanders who this person was; and, being told, he said, in a tone which must have chilled the heart of that able and rising lawyer,—"Oh, Mr. Murray! I am extremely glad to see you; I have been with several of your relations; the good lady your mother was of great use to us at Perth!" Murray, indeed, came of a very Jacobite stock; and his elder brother, Lord Dunbar, was minister or secretary to the Pretender. When the peers returned to their places, the lord high steward asked them severally whether Lord Balmerino was guilty or not guilty; and all said,—Guilty, upon honour. He then begged their pardon for giving so much trouble; and, as he went away, he said, "They call me a Jacobite; I am no more a Jacobite than any that tried me; but if the Great Mogul had set up his standard I should have followed it, for I could not starve." If poverty could have excused rebellion, all three lords might have pleaded it. Since the stopping of a pension allowed to him by Sir Robert Walpole,

Kilmarnock, though a fourfold earl—being Earl of Errol, of Linlithgow, and of Calendar, as well as of Kilmarnock,—had often wanted a dinner; and the Earl of Cromartie was not in better circumstances. On being brought up to receive sentence both these earls sued for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromartie, "is the least part of my suffering; but, my lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parent hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion." Lord Kilmarnock, who had infinitely more self-possession, and who had a fine voice, an extremely fine person, and a noble carriage, made what was considered by all an able and impressive speech. He spoke so well, that Lord Leicester went up to the Duke of Newcastle, and said, "I never heard so great an orator as Lord Kilmarnock. If I was your grace, I would pardon him, and make him paymaster to the forces, like Pitt."

The Chancellor, as Lord High Steward, pronounced the horrible sentence of death, as traitors upon the three lords. Great intercession was made for the two earls, but apparently little or none for old Balmerino, who would have excited more sympathy in magnanimous hearts than either of the earls. A pardon was granted to Lady Cromartie for her husband, and the two others were ordered for execution on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock was not so light-hearted, but old Balmerino continued to be joyous with his pretty young wife almost to the last.* On the fatal morning, just before they came out of the Tower, he called for wine and drank a bumper to the health of King James. Both the lords were made to walk on foot from their prison to the scaffold. Kilmarnock, on account, we suppose, of the

* "Balmerino," says Horace Walpole, writing on the 12th of August, "is jolly with his pretty Peggy."

superiority of his rank and title, walked first, supported by two Presbyterian preachers, and dressed all in black. Balmerino followed, all alone, wearing a blue coat turned up with red, "his rebellious regimentals," a large loose flannel waistcoat, and under that his shroud and grave-clothes. Their hearses were close behind them. Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold; he seemed terrified, but yet preserved the dignity of a gentleman. He stood and prayed some time with one of the ministers, who wept the while. His penitence was much admired; he delivered a long speech to the sheriff, and stuck to the recantation he had made at his trial, declaring he was satisfied with the legality of King George's title. At last he knelt down "with a visible unwillingness to depart," and the executioner struck off his head at a single blow. The scaffold was then newly strewed with sawdust, the blood on the block was covered, the executioner put on a new dress and took up a new axe. "And then came old Balmerino, treading with the air of a general." He walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, went up to his coffin, read the inscription on the lid, and, with a nod and a smile, said it was all right. He then gazed around him upon the spectators who had assembled in amazing numbers, and he read a long paper in an audible voice and gave it to the sheriff. He mentioned George as a good kind of prince, but denied his right to the throne, and declared that Prince Charles was so sweet a prince that flesh and blood could not resist following him. In trying the block he exclaimed, "If I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down here in the same cause." He called up the executioner, felt the edge of the axe, asked him how many blows he had given Kilmarnock, and then gave the headsman three guineas, saying he never was rich, that this all the money he now had, and he wished it was mor Two clergymen came up to offer their assistance, but declined it. He then pulled off his periwig, took a pl

* A gift of the kind was regular: Kilmarnock had gi the headsman five guineas.

cap out of his pocket, and put it on his head, saying he would die a Scotchman. He pulled off his coat and gave it to the executioner, whom he patted on the back, and encouraged to do his work like a man. He stretched his neck across the block, and gave the sign instantly "by tossing up his arm as if he were giving the signal for battle." But the headsman, taken by surprise with so much rapidity, gave him a bad blow, and it cost him a third effort to sever the head from the body.*

Old Lord Lovat was not brought to trial till the spring of the following year (1747); for he had not appeared in arms, like Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and it was more difficult to prove against him an overt act. It appears indeed that the old fox confidently expected he should escape the vengeance of the law by a natural death in the Tower, for he was sinking under his age and his maladies. But John Murray of Broughton, the young Pretender's secretary, saved his own neck by turning king's evidence, and sacrificing his former friends and associates. His ample revelations were quite enough to convict Lovat, and even to fix the guilt of treason or treasonable correspondence upon several English Jacobites of high rank. This trial began on the 9th of March, and lasted seven days. According to Horace Walpole, who seems not to have missed one moment of the trial, Lovat's behaviour was the strangest that had ever been witnessed in any court or anywhere else. We believe we shall not go far wrong in adopting the theory of the great Scotch writer, that there was a touch of madness in the old man's composition.† But seldom has madness been allied with so much caustic wit. The two last days of the trial he behaved ridiculously; and he joked and made every body laugh even at the awful crisis when sentence was pronounced. To Lord Ilchester, who sat near him, he said, in the words of an old French song—

"Je meurs pour ma patrie,
Et ne m'en soucie guères."

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* Hor. Walpole's Letters to Mann.—Ray.
† Walter Scott.